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THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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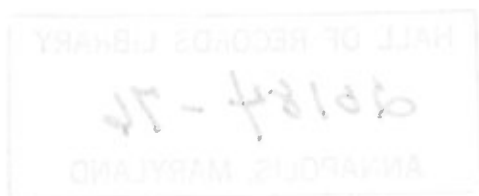
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND



Francis Street, Annapolis

By Frank Blackwell Mayer (1827-1899). Oil on canvas, 15-3/4" x 20-1/2".
Signed and dated (lower right) F. M. 1876.

Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1939. [39.175]
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Notes on the Contributions of Francis Blackwell Mayer and his Family to the Cultural History of Maryland

JEAN JEPSON PAGE

FRANCIS BLACKWELL MAYER (1827-1899) WAS A BALTIMORE PAINTER of complex mentality and decided talent. He was a good friend on equal footing with the more widely known Baltimore artistic figures, Richard Caton Woodville (1825-1856), Alfred Jacob Miller (1810-1874), William Rinehart (1825-1874), Andrew J. H. Way (1826-1888), Adalbert Johann Volck (1828-1912), and George Lucas (1824-1909). His grandfather, Christian Mayer (1763-1842), was the first in the immediate family line to come to this country and reside in Baltimore (1784). "Frank" (as he often signed himself) Mayer's father was Charles Frederick Mayer (1795-1864) and his uncle was Brantz Mayer (1809-1879).

In 1876, the year of the nation's Centennial, Frank Mayer, after ten years of living in Paris and many more in Baltimore where he was born, purchased his first and only permanent home in historic Annapolis, Maryland. He had visited Annapolis three years before in search of historic background for a painting commissioned by the Peabody Institute. Entitled "My Lady's Visit" or "Maryland 1750", this painting is now on loan to the Maryland Historical Society.¹ Mayer described his intent and his reaction to Annapolis in a letter to his uncle Brantz:

City Hall, Annapolis
Aug. 3, 1873

My dear Uncle,

You behold me a denizen of the 'Ancient City,' where I have been stopping for 6 weeks. My purpose is to work up the studies for the picture which I am to paint for The Peabody Institute, and which I propose to make an illustration of the courtly days of Provincial Maryland, treating the subject with realistic truth, with the humor of genteel comedy, a Thackery like study of the manners and people of George II's time in Maryland. The old mansions and gardens, and the beautiful Bay give me locality and surroundings. . .

The History of Maryland certainly presents a great number of situations for the painter with my knowledge of costume, etc. I think I could make some good things thereof. . .

This old place is full of quaint bits of old architecture and if the [powers that be] had but the wisdom to preserve them, would become a place of great interest in the future. . .²

It is fitting that the house which Frank Mayer purchased as a combination

An account of Mayer's artistic career outside of Maryland is contained in Mrs. Page's article in the February 1976 issue of *Antiques*.

Christmas and birthday (December 27) present to himself is now the home of Historic Annapolis, Inc. It is also appropriate that the current process of restoring Annapolis' "old architecture", so ably spearheaded by the president of Historic Annapolis, Mrs. J. M. P. Wright, has been aided by several of the precise architectural renderings sketched by Frank Mayer while a resident of the old town.

As he settled down in his new abode, "built long before Annapolis had its streets laid out . . . the growth of the town having by then turned the house around with windows from which to view on all sides the ever varying views of cloud, city and water", the artist found congenial inspiration for the historical themes that occupied more and more of his time and attention. Frank Mayer painted both portraits and landscapes, but he was primarily a painter of genre, or 'figure painting' as it was then called.³ Although he undertook 'history painting' partly because a market had developed for it following the Civil War, his interest in recording and perceiving history was part and parcel of his make-up, indigenous to his family's tradition as well as his Baltimorean heritage and the times into which he was born.

Mayer wrote several journals—"memoirs" they might be called, as distinct from 'histories'—⁴ and simultaneously filled approximately 60 small sketchbooks with simple and eloquent depictions of the life and habit, manner and mode of his time and circumstance.⁵ In 1877 he began to write the story of his own life, "Bygones and Rigamaroles." "Our desire," he said, "is to avoid an autobiography, for to describe oneself so we must pay the penalty of an exposure which our merits cannot sustain." Still, he ascertained, "Posterity will value any precise statement of fact or impression of [one's time] and the most uneventful life furnishes the material if it be recorded honestly."⁶

This was the nub of the matter. In an age when the history of heroism had, largely for political purposes, become central to the American historical approach, starting with Jared Sparks' *A Life of Washington*⁷ and perpetuated mostly by New Englanders, Frank Mayer and his family subscribed to the view that "history that is hereafter to be written is not to be merely the history of government and politics, but of the history of man in all his relations and interests, the history of science, of art, of religion, of social and domestic vein."⁸ Somewhat Southern in aspect, this approach viewed with disdain history that consisted only of "kings and soldiers, . . . the mere skeleton of history."⁹

Frank Mayer's observations and experiences, in any case, had not disposed him to think kindly of all the nation's 'heroes,' George Washington being a distinct exception. The conclusion of his introduction exclaims in rather bitter and uncharacteristic terms:

This world is an e-nor-mous jack-ass! . . . more foolish than wicked. Mankind moves on, a tumultuous crowd swayed by the jangle of the fool's bauble and bells, mingling the sadness of the wise, the mirth of the thoughtless and the stupidity of the selfish. With the eyes of the genial jester to look on the passing show and to regard life as comedy seems to us commendable wisdom.¹⁰

It was said of Frank's grandfather, Christian Mayer, that he had read every valuable book obtainable from the library of Baltimore by the time of his death

in 1843, and was highly respected for his general knowledge, conversational powers and urbanity by all his mercantile brethren.¹¹ He also collected and carefully preserved "many chronicles and cultural Papers" sent to him by his father in Ulm, Württemberg, which were subsequently kept and added to by his son Brantz Mayer.¹² The charming wooden statue of a domestic group that once graced the downstairs foyer of the Maryland Historical Society was first proposed by Christian Mayer to his father in Württemberg in a letter written on August 15, 1793. Frank Mayer quotes from this letter in "Rigamaroles:" "Christian originally wished the piece to represent 'domestic Quiet and Happiness'", to be portrayed by

a matron with distaff in her hand and a child playing before her. . . If [however] the Image of Order and Simplicity could be procured cheaper, that might be chosen. A grave female Figure in well arranged robes, and plaited hair, a Plumrule in her hand, might be no bad representation of Order and Simplicity.¹³

Order and simplicity, domestic quiet and happiness, were underlying family values—premises really—which, to Frank's dismay, the political tensions of the nineteenth century managed to divert.

Shortly after Christian had commissioned this statue, his wife, Anna Katherine Baum (1767–1843), herself a learned woman whom he married in 1785, gave birth to their third child and second son Charles,¹⁴ on October 15, 1795. Charles achieved eminence as a well known and able lawyer at a time when the Baltimore bar was recognized as the best in the country and, as his friend John Neal reminisced, "by far the haughtiest."¹⁵ Charles, however, was remembered as a man of "modest and retiring ways," "a scholar deeply read" whose reputation rested on his analytical facility and who was recognized as having identified himself with "every movement for the advancement of the city." Like his senior, Roger Taney, he graduated from Dickinson College in Pennsylvania. Upon entering the bar he won his first case against William Wirt.¹⁶ In 1819 he married Susan Theresa Pratt, who died in 1822 after bearing him one son, Henry Christian Mayer (1821–1846). On April 4, 1827, he married for the second time, Eliza Caldwell Blackwell (1803–1885).¹⁷

Of Scotch-Irish descent, Eliza was described by one of her grandsons as "a woman in whose veins there flowed the blood of a Huguenot and like a ripple over a placid lake there came a change in the spirit of her descendants."¹⁸ Frank Mayer himself said of her, "My mother's Irish inheritance, a sense of the ridiculous, was never subdued."¹⁹ From her he felt that he too had inherited a lively sense of humor. Moreover, he credited her with conveying to him her artistic inclinations. She had taken art lessons from the esteemed architect Maximilian Godefroy, a "French refugee of rank," noted Mayer

who resided in Baltimore during Napoleon's reign. He was an accomplished artist and gentleman, and besides giving lessons in drawing and color was the architect of many of the best buildings in the city, . . . [including] the Battle Monument, the Unitarian Church, St. Mary's Chapel, the old Masonic Hall . . . and many other works showing originality, taste and constructive ability. He was somewhat eccentric and irascible, took snuff and sneezed over my mother's drawings when they did not satisfy him, and returned to France after the restoration of the Bourbons.²⁰

Eliza Blackwell Mayer's mother (née Robinson) died in childbirth and Eliza was raised in the household of Dr. James Smith, the physician responsible for introducing smallpox immunization into the United States. Mayer described this circumstance:

My mother's father, Francis Blackwell, . . . was a sea-faring man, or, as he expressed it, a 'Captain in the Merchant Services,' and when he married his young wife in Ireland he brought her with him to America where she died, three years after, leaving an infant daughter. Her devoted friend in her illness and before were distant cousins, to one of whom Dr. James Smith of Baltimore was married [the other, a spinster, Flora Caldwell, was a member of the same household], and as they reared my mother almost as their own child because of the Captain's frequent absence on the sea I had been taught to refer to them as grandparents.²¹

It is apt that Eliza and Charles Mayer met and courted at that "elegant rendezvous of taste, curiosity, and leisure," the very center of social life in Baltimore, the Peale Museum.²²

Like his wife, Charles Mayer also had an abiding interest in art that began in his youth. Several interesting watercolors which he executed are among the group of Frank's works and belongings inherited by his heirs. They also include drawings by both Eliza and Brantz Mayer.²³ Charles became legal counsel to what was in 1827 referred to as Peale's Atheneum. In bewailing its subsequent demise, Frank took note of his grandfather's contributions to it. Oddly, however, he failed to mention the man most often identified with the museum, its director, Rembrandt Peale.

The gallery of the Old Baltimore Museum, founded by C. W. Peale and augmented and arranged later by Charles de Selding, contained many valuable originals which to the discredit of our city were dispersed, the last remnants perishing in the great fire of Chicago where they had found a home.

This old Baltimore Museum held a very large range of interest in its historical portraits, its revolutionary relics and its specimens of natural history, as remarkable for the enthusiasm which formed and encouraged it as for the subsequent neglect which lost it as an educational element in a more populous and less appreciative community. The pursuit of gain had followed that public spirit and national feeling which was so active in our new born nationality. Men's minds were absorbed in the possibilities of the power of steam and became possessed with that impatience which excludes the study of nature or of history, and for a time national development and commercial expansion consumed their energies. In this collection were many donations made by Christian Mayer and [his business partner and best friend who resided in his household] Lewis Brantz. It preserved Pulaski's banner wrought by the Moravian nuns of Bethlehem and known to fame through the muse of Longfellow, a full length portrait of Bonaparte as First Counsel and of the young Jerome as an Admiral; a series of heads of distinguished citizens and the most noted actors in their best roles; and an ornethological collection of birds of America. . . Shells, insects and minerals also had their place; and my 25 cents worth of enjoyment was found in roaming from room to room in endless admiration.²⁴

At the time of Charles' marriage to Eliza, Brantz Mayer was 18. He was named after Captain Lewis Brantz whose presence was missed at their wedding because he was then in Mexico.²⁵ A much loved and active member of the Mayer

household, Captain Brantz surely must have encouraged the young Charles and Brantz in their first drawing efforts, for he was himself a skilled draughtsman and cartographer. His scientific survey of the Chesapeake Bay resulted in his execution of the first map of this material, one which remained in standard use for almost a century. Captain Brantz is also known to have made the earliest pictorial record of Pittsburgh in 1790; and one of his watercolors is now owned by the Peabody Museum in Salem, Massachusetts.²⁶ He took his twenty-three year old namesake on a subsequent trip to Mexico in 1832 and together they began to collect Mexican antiquities and curiosities. For a time they lived in considerable danger, "in a city closely besieged by an enemy who threatens us daily by an assault," the way Captain Brantz described it. So saying he also left instructions as to the disposal of his estate in the event he might not return home.²⁷ Apparently, however, nothing occurred to deter a safe return for early in the following year the youthful Brantz sailed for Europe where he joined his friends Alfred Jacob Miller and Nathaniel Parker Willis, author, editor and at that time correspondent for the *New York Mirror*. Willis referred to Brantz as "my dear double;" whereas Miller regarded Brantz as both mentor and benefactor.²⁸

During these early years the Mayers numbered among their friends fellow lawyers and men of trade, as well as artists, scientists and writers. Conspicuous among these were John Neal, America's first literary and art critic, Joseph Henry, scientist and first director of the Smithsonian Institution,²⁹ Reverdy Johnson, John Pendleton Kennedy, John H. B. Latrobe, Fielding Lucas, James McCulloh, Isaac Munroe, Osmund Comfort Tiffany, Thomas Sully, and others of like mind and similar bent. Some were of the same political and religious persuasion, others were not. Some were more interested than others in the development of the new steam engine as a means of keeping Baltimore at the forefront of the nation's commercial ascendancy. All, however, were alike in their broad cultural interests and inclinations.

This being so it is not surprising that the Mayers and their friends played prominent roles in the establishment of many of Baltimore's cultural institutions. Though the Mayers were never members of the rather exclusive Delphian Club founded in 1816, nor contributors to its counterpart, *The Portico* (edited by John Neal and his partner, John Pierpont, both of whom arrived in Baltimore shortly after the War of 1812)³⁰, they soon sought other means of establishing the cultural authority which they felt was in keeping with Baltimore's place in the national sphere. Their major contribution in this regard was the founding of the Maryland Historical Society in 1844 and the building of its Atheneum in 1848.

Brantz Mayer's interest in history was manifest early, considerably whetted no doubt by his association with Lewis Brantz when they were in Mexico collecting antiquities. Brantz expanded this collection and his knowledge on a second visit to Mexico (1841-1842) when he served as Secretary to the United States Legation to Mexico. An active Whig, he was appointed by President John Tyler during Daniel Webster's term as Secretary of State. Both Neal and Willis, upon hearing of Brantz' appointment, sent their congratulations and advised that he use his experience to write a book. "Make a book", said Neal; and Willis, "Take care to collect material for a clever book when you return."³¹ A year later, when Brantz hurried back to Baltimore upon hearing of the death of his father, he did as his

friends had advised, and wrote a comprehensive study of Mexico's social, political, military and cultural history. *Mexico As It Was and As It Is* was published in 1844 and was one of several on the same general subject.³² It succeeded the publication of Prescott's *Conquest of Mexico*, begun in 1839, by one year.

When Brantz Mayer wrote to Willis suggesting that Willis use what influence he had to see that Brantz' book got a decent review in Boston, Brantz received the following answer, written from the Astor Hotel in New York:

My dear Brantz . . . I will write to Boston tomorrow touching the Review, but you know Prescott has the field there and his friends (who are my friends) don't like to jostle him. My wife says your book is the most charming reading she has enjoyed in a long time.

So I say, I wish you could come here to live, and cut the law. Turn it over . . . Faithfully always yours. N.P. Willis³³

Perhaps Willis' comment should not occasion surprise in view of the fact that even Washington Irving had been dissuaded from writing on Mexico by mutual friends of the two authors, that being, they said, "Prescott's subject".³⁴ Moreover, the subject of Mexico and its relationship to Texas had suddenly become extraordinarily political and Brantz had strong views on the subject that were echoed in the Baltimore community but not in Boston.³⁵

As befitted an historian, Brantz Mayer was active in the American Ethnological Society, the New England Historical Genealogical Society and the Rhode Island Historical Society.³⁶ Even a cursory glance at the titles comprising his collection of books attests to the depth of his historical concerns.³⁷ He also took an early interest in preserving the heritage of his own state of Maryland and in 1840 wrote to Joel Roberts Poinsett of South Carolina, former envoy to Mexico, to inquire if that state had an historical society and if so, what its rules and regulations might be, as, said he, "some gentlemen in Maryland want to establish a society which will rescue the mouldering remains of our own state's early history from utter decay."³⁸

The Maryland Historical Society was subsequently founded on January 27, 1844, at the beginning of a political year of intense excitement. Henry Clay was nominated on May 27 at the Whig convention in Baltimore as standard bearer for the Whigs. To what extent political inclinations and outlook were motivating forces affecting the Society's organization is not clear. It is clear, however, that Whigs and Unitarians, (Charles and Brantz Mayer being both), were among the majority of gentlemen who gathered on that winter's evening in 1844 to organize an institution "for the purpose of collecting the scattered materials of the early history of the state."³⁹ Historian Ann Douglas has noted that "American history was . . . politicized and political from its inception." Jefferson, for example, was convinced that Judge John Marshall's *Life of George Washington* was designed to influence the election of 1810. And when George Bancroft's history of the United States began appearing in 1834, one southern reviewer took pains to point out that "if Northerners wrote the nation's history they would become our masters."⁴⁰ In 1844 Bancroft was a delegate to the National Democratic Convention held, like the Whig convention, in Baltimore in May, and he played an important role in the nomination of James Polk as the Democratic party candidate.

In any case, whether caught up in the prevailing political flurries or not, members of the Maryland Historical Society named as their first President, John Spear Smith, a distant relative of Eliza Blackwell Mayer's surrogate father, Dr. James Smith. Brantz Mayer became the corresponding secretary. Six months later, on June 20, 1844, only a few short weeks after the Whig and Democratic conventions had taken place, Charles Mayer delivered the *First Discourse Before the Maryland Historical Society*. The emphasis of this discourse is of special interest for the light it casts on controversial philosophical issues of the time rather than for any political references. The Mayers were thoughtful and dedicated Unitarians who held ideas distinctly at odds with the Transcendentalist views which Ralph Waldo Emerson had been proclaiming since leaving the Unitarian ministry in 1832. Making impassioned protests against what he called "the defects of Christianity," Emerson advised that redemption should be sought in one's own soul. "Wherever a man comes," he said, "there comes revolution. The old is for slaves. Go alone. Refuse the good models, even those which are sacred to the imagination of men. Cast conformity behind you, and acquaint men at first hand with Deity."⁴¹ Mayer took issue with this:

Let state pride urge its way among legends of trial and effort and the triumphs of energy—and open the tomb of the past, that, in radiant effusion, the memory of the good may brighten the empire of humanity.

It is the contemplation of the past that digests into the treasure of morals and knowledge the events and labours of the world. The passing scenes with toils of mind and genius and patriotism may fix attention and quicken admiration; but it is only when they move at Historic distance, when the perspective condenses them, and lends to the View of solemnity of Memory, that they attain the dignity of instruction.

It is not in periods of excitement—in scanning the stars, or in fighting the blast of the hurricane—that the Historical interest of the American States is to be sought. The annals of our Maryland yield nothing to the curiosity that explores for the violent . . . No brilliant tumult—nor the riotous epic, called martial glory—fills our Chapters of the Past with their fretted scenes and feverish pictures. No exploits of Negotiations pompous cunning . . . the serpentine diplomacy of the modern Era . . . give hue and contour to the unsophisticated days of Provincial Maryland. We reanimate no trumpet note of victorious ambition. To our invocation wake up through our History's even trait only the lowly echoes of civil zeal and toil. At the helm of the state stood sound judgement and watchful hearts for the public welfare. . . and on the path of its policy fell the light of good education. This was pacific progress. . . the lesson of discipline and patient toil . . .

These are generalizing times. Quaint idealities are spirited up by . . . it may be, Carlyle or others . . . Intellectual comets are above the horizon bewildering the thought and luring us to transcendent heights far out of Earth's sober, suffering data. Sparkling oddities, suspended in a meteoric style, are crowned as marvels of genius . . . While all this illusory pageant of genius is passing before us, it becomes us to tell, even in abstract views, the grounds of our taste, though it may be for the Antique or the retrospective, and the reasons for our trust that we may not labor in vain.⁴²

Shortly after this invocation Charles J. M. Eaton and Osmund Comfort Tiffany were entrusted with the task of raising \$40,000 for an Atheneum to house an art gallery for the Historical Society, designed by the son of the architect for Peale's Atheneum, Robert Cary Long, Jr. Brantz Mayer remarked a few years later that

... it will be recollected that we added The Fine Arts as a kindred pursuit to be cherished by our society, and [we] built the large gallery which adjoins this room for the accommodation of the pictures and statues we might acquire, as well as the yearly exhibitions that such meritorious works as might be obtained from artists and collectors by a standing committee of our members.⁴³

The pervasive concern for art among some of Baltimore's citizens received an extra push from Frank Mayer on March 14, 1847, when he initiated the formation of the Maryland Art Association. Tocqueville had noted as he travelled in the United States during Jackson's administration that "in no other country . . . has the principle of association been more successfully applied . . . than . . . in the United States . . . [where] there is no end which the human will despair of attaining through the power of individuals combined in a society." Assuredly, this was an assumption held by the Mayers which Frank Mayer early perceived and put to use. The formation of this first of several social initiatives was taken in the belief that only through active association would artists be able to sustain themselves and effect the patronage so necessary to them. It was comprised of a relatively small coterie of friends, 10 in all, which included beside himself, his best friend Samuel B. Wetherald, and Craig Jones, Michael Laty, John H. B. Latrobe, Robert Cary Long, Alfred Jacob Miller, the art instructor, Samuel Smith, Osmund Comfort Tiffany, and Brantz Mayer. There is no record as to how long the group was in the habit of "meeting one evening a week in the studio of Frank B. Mayer."⁴⁴

However, Frank Mayer left Baltimore for Philadelphia in pursuit of his own art career in September of 1847. On the previous July 6 he had forthrightly penned the opening entry in a journal which he entitled "F.B. Mayer, Journal, Memoranda, etc., July 6, 1847 to Nov. 1, 1854." It began,

Furnished Judge Hanson's portrait in crayon and worked from the Venus de Medici—read *Ferdinand and Isabella* [by Prescott] and received a letter from Dr. Frost in which he agreed to Employ me as a designer on the block, for three months trial, at the rate of \$500 a year. Spent the evening with Sam Wetherald and at Uncle Konig's.⁴⁵

No doubt he felt an optimistic hope, on receiving his first commission outside of Baltimore, that he would be able to make his mark in the world and, if so, he wanted to record for posterity the career path of an artist in America in the nineteenth century. He also took with him the sketchbooks he had commenced in 1844 and which he continued to keep until the end of his life, recording more specifically than is usual for artists the character of the life of those persons and places which he encountered during his lifetime. Of special interest in the fact that he was particularly careful to illustrate in these sketchbooks indigenous architectural details of buildings which he feared might become outmoded.

Frank Mayer returned to Baltimore in the summer of 1849 and shortly thereafter became Assistant Librarian for the Gallery of Fine Arts of the Maryland Historical Society, which post he held for a little over two years. During this time the Gallery held extensive exhibitions of paintings of both local and national artists and from local collections of European works of art. Chief among the directors of this undertaking were Brantz Mayer and John H. B. Latrobe. The exhibitions were so successful in every way that by 1850 a warning note was

sounded as to the possibility of having the Gallery usurp the Library. Frank Mayer decided to take his leave in order to pursue his ambition of following in Alfred Jacob Miller's footsteps by undertaking a trip West with 'Pen and Pencil on the Frontier.' The young artist returned with a journal and accompanying sketches which were subsequently edited by Bertha Heilbron and published by the Minnesota Historical Society in 1932.⁴⁶

In 1856, he instigated a second associative attempt. During the same year the first journalistic magazine devoted exclusively to American artistic interests was started in New York by John Durand, son of Asher B. Durand, landscape painter and president of the National Academy of Design, and William Stillman of Boston. Named *The Crayon*, the July 5 issue called attention in its "Baltimore Notes" (supplied by Frank Mayer) to the formation of a new artists organization called simply the Artists' Association. The journal described the new association as follows:

We have received from Baltimore a catalogue of works of art on exhibition there, embracing pictures belonging to the Maryland Historical Society, to-gether with a collection got to-gether by the 'Artists Association' of Baltimore. The latter organization is a new organization. The catalogue says, 'the Artists' Association of Maryland was formed the autumn of the past year, 1855, in the city of Baltimore.'

This association is composed of artists, sculptors, etc. as the active members, who subscribe annually 6 dollars; also contributing members, whose annual subscription is 5 dollars, these enjoying all the privileges of the Society, except the right of voting at elections, and holding office.

The requirements of such an Association in this city, having been felt by the artists, they have thus united themselves to-gether for the purpose of mutual encouragement in their profession, and with the view of establishing a permanent Gallery of American Art, with an annual exhibition of their productions.

The number of works exhibited is 294, including many by well-known names, besides others entirely new to us. We wish to the Association every success.⁴⁷

In 1858 new efforts on the part of Mayer and his fellow artists finally resulted in the formation of the relatively well-known and duly recorded Allston Association. *The Crayon* again supplied a substantial report in its 'Domestic Art Gossip' column, which supplements the more intimate recollections of Otilie Sutro in his 1943 article for the *Maryland Historical Magazine*. *The Crayon's* on-the-spot account of the Allston's first soiree with remarks as to the nature and purpose of the organization are as follows and were written, presumably, by George Buchanan Coale (1819-1887), collector of paintings and, especially, seventeenth-century Dutch prints.⁴⁸

Baltimore.—A correspondent (to whom we are much indebted) says, "It was my intention immediately after the first Soiree of the Allston Association, to send you an account of its success and the features of interest by which it was marked; but unceasing business occupation has not afforded me leisure for the purpose until this rather late hour. The number of members with their lady guests amounted to about two hundred. The parlors and hall were hung with the choicest exhibition of paintings probably ever collected in this city, numbering about 125 originals, including exquisite specimens of the following artists: *French*—Frere (Edw.), Chavet, Chaplin, Couturier, Duverger, L'Enfant de Metz. *English*—The Herrings, Meadows, Creswick, Jutsum,

and others. *Dutch and German*—Ostade, Ommeganck, Wanderer, Meyer of Bremen, Koster, and others. New York was represented by Cropsey, Church, Durand, Kensett, the Harts, Tait, Hays, Sonntag, Gray, Mignot, E. Johnson, Colman, Staigg, Rossiter, Lang, Suydam, Ames, Oertel, Darley, Carmiencke; and Philadelphia by Weber, Richards, and Moran. Of our own artists, Miller, Mayer, Newell, Weidenbach, M'Dowell, Tiffany, Bowers, Thompson, and Volkman, Jr., were contributors.

The pictures were hung with excellent taste and judgment, and it was a rare and agreeable feature that all were *upon the line*. The vestibule was hung with crayon drawings, including a fine pastoral by Darley, and "The Prophets," by Oertel. The reading-room and smoking-room exhibited a collection of valuable and choice engravings, including works of Rembrandt, Morghen, Louis, Schaffer, of Frankfort, Mandel, Lewis and Landseer.

In the course of the evening a choice entertainment of classical music was given, comprising a trio, by Pesca, for piano, violin, and violincello; the piano part performed by Professor Courlaender, a member of the Association, the violin and violin-cello by Messrs. Mahr and Ahrend, who are probably unsurpassed in the performance of music of this character. Besides the trio, a concerto for violin and piano, a violin-cello solo and piano solos were performed. A supper at eleven o'clock, the first general reunion of the Association, with which all appeared abundantly satisfied.

So much for the Soiree. A few words as to what the Association is doing and desires to do, may be interesting. We number already nearly 200 members—united primarily by love of the arts and a desire to increase our enjoyment, taste, and knowledge of them. We are contributing to the support of a Life School, which assembles twice a week, a class of steadfast and laborious students, amateur and professional. Saturday evening at "The Allston" is always enlivened by a more general assemblage of members, and the production of portfolios of drawings, engravings, or original sketches, and by entertaining talk; and the "Sketch Book," on the reading-room table, receives constantly facetious contributions from the members. We have evenings of classical music *every fortnight*, and are forming a small library of the best music, which includes already the complete piano sonatas of Beethoven and Mozart, many of the operas of the latter arranged for the piano, symphonies of these two great masters, and overtures of Mendelssohn and Spohr, arranged for four hands; and is to comprise generally such music as is not often to be found in private collections.

The exhibition of pictures or designs is to be a permanent, not merely an *occasional* feature of our Association. It is the purpose of the Association, *so far as their means will permit*, to gather works of Art from all quarters, the transportation and insurance on them to be at their own expense. In carrying out this object they will need, however, an active interest and cooperation among artists abroad; and let me hope to find such interest and cooperation especially in your city. New York is fast concentrating the Art-fraternity within her own limits, and Associations such as ours may afford them a needful extension of the field for exhibition and sale of their productions.

G.B.C.

The second Soiree is to take place on the 10th inst., and promises to be a brilliant affair.⁴⁹

According to Sutro, "The Association flourished and did splendid work until frustrated by over-zealous militarists in 1863."⁵⁰ Frank Mayer went to Paris in the fall of 1863 and resided there until Paris was besieged in the fall of 1870. On June 18, 1870, the Allston merged with the Wednesday Club which had begun in 1855 in concert with the Allston, but had been able to sustain its activities during the Civil War. If Frank Mayer entertained any thoughts of joining this new

amalgam on his return, it is not recorded. Certainly the hugely extended list of members would not have attracted him, nor the fact that it had become chiefly an eating club with little other effective purpose.

One last effort aimed at enhancing the artistic environment of Baltimore was his participation in the founding of the Charcoal Club in 1885 where he then taught for some years. According to Meredith Janvier, a model at the club, "it was formed by as fine a lot of men interested in and loving art as ever lived in any city." The early nineties, said Janvier, "was indeed a golden period in Baltimore. The Charcoal Club was largely the source and origin as well as the heart and soul of this renaissance."⁽⁵⁰⁾

Mayer's own artistic output, as already noted, was increasingly that of a 'history painter.' He also wrote and illustrated several articles on the social history of Maryland for *Harpers New Monthly* magazine and *Scribners*. Among them were "Aunt Eve Interviewed," "Signs and Symbols," "Old Baltimore and Its Merchants," and "Old Maryland Manners." In the latter he mused, "In the Library of the State-house at Annapolis we have a complete file of the [Maryland Gazette] . . . On a summer day in the cool and quiet of that cozy hall, there is no pleasanter past time for the tired student than the perusal of its aged and stained pages."⁽⁵²⁾

Frank Mayer sorely lamented the modernizing of Annapolis. He worked against this process and used examples of then extant colonial residences in many of his canvases and illustrations. In 1884 he formed a Local Improvement Association of Annapolis.⁽⁵³⁾ And in the same year, on Washington's birthday, he wrote a six page letter to the chairman of the Committee for Public Buildings, Dr. F. W. Lancaster, Senator from Charles County, which demonstrated his interest in historic preservation:

In compliance with your request as Chairman of the Senate Committee on public buildings and grounds I beg leave to submit to you and to the Committee some suggestions with regard to the State House and its surroundings in view of whatever improvement or additions it may be thought advisable to execute. My pride in my native state and my interest as an artist in the judicious embellishment of our capital urge me to offer you most respectfully the general ideas which have occurred to me as a result of some study on the subject.

. . . the greatest quality of Architecture is beauty of proportion, an accompaniment of that perfection of style which appears periodically in the history of architecture. Our state-house was designed at a period when its peculiar style of architecture, the Palladian, or English-Italian, had reached its best development, and it is for this reason that the interior of the Rotunda, the proportions of the dome, and our Senate-Chamber (before its desecration!) were looked upon by architects as peculiarly beautiful examples of their Art.

It is needless to enter into a history of the various alterations which the old building has sustained; some may be regarded as *improvements*, made by artists who understood the style of the day and worthy of praise, others as *mutilations*, others as *injudicious*, because inharmonious, and some, the most *expensive*, dictated by false economy.

I would specifically suggest that in any "improvements" or additions to the building or grounds that the *original style be strictly adhered to*.

The fact that Annapolis is visited by more Americans and foreigners than any

other of our state capitols, owing to the presence of the Naval Academy and our proximity to Washington, render it particularly incumbent upon us to present at least a decorous and respectable appearance to the world in our State building and its surroundings. . . and above all to see in a state of preservation the historic locality of the Senate chamber known to the whole country as the scene of Washington's resignation and the confirming Act of Independence.

The *restoration* of this room to its original appearance is an obligation of duty we owe to ourselves and to the country. The mutilation of this hall is looked upon by all visitors as an act of vandalism and tends to bring our historical renown as one of the 'original thirteen' into contempt. I would respectfully suggest the *restoration of this room as nearly as possible to its original appearance* to be preserved in this condition and to be used only on occasions of special ceremony.

Mayer went on to discuss in great detail other recommendations for the State buildings and their grounds. He forcefully stipulated that "a new Treasury building is required," but insisted that

... on account of the historical association as probably the now oldest building in Maryland the present Treasury should be preserved and fitted up as a *lodge* for a keeper of the grounds and State House. . .

He courteously concluded by saying "Hoping my remarks may not be received as impertinent but in the spirit of patriotism which inspires them I beg leave to be truly yours, etc., Frank B. Mayer."⁵⁴

In 1886 Mayer was elected Vice President of the Anne Arundel County Historical Society.⁵⁵ Toward the end of his life, Frank Mayer received two large commissions from the state of Maryland for paintings to be hung in the State House where they still reside. "Planting of the Colony of Maryland," an oil on canvas, 53" by 72", was finished in 1893. The Maryland Historical Society has an oil study for this entitled "Te Deum." The companion painting, "The Burning of the Peggy Stewart" was finished in 1898, a year before his death.⁵⁶

Frank Mayer's efforts on behalf of the artistic and historical interests of his native state were lifelong, as were those of his father Charles and his uncle Brantz. They never ceased in their efforts. If Brantz Mayer has become somewhat better known for his endeavors, he was, after all, both an author and newspaper editor. He was also a more flamboyant personality than either Charles or Frank, being like N. P. Willis, something of a dandy fashioned perhaps along the lines of Charles' contemporary John Pendleton Kennedy.⁵⁷ He may also have had somewhat more time to spare as he was freer of some of the financial obligations and exigencies that confronted both his brother and nephew. However, all these members of the Mayer family, Brantz, Charles, Christian, Eliza, and Frank, deserve to be equally commended for their deep interest in the rich history of Maryland and the abiding sense of obligation which they exercised on its behalf, and which was fostered by their personal heritage.

REFERENCES

1. Frank Mayer's Account Book, Baltimore Museum of Art.
2. Mayer Papers, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
3. Mayer Scrapbook, Baltimore Museum: Baltimore *Herald*, April 5, 1986. For a summary of Frank Mayer's career as a painter, see Jean Jepson Page, "Francis Blackwell Mayer", *Antiques* 109(February 1976): 316-323.

4. In 1839 Jared Sparks formulated a definition of different types of biography current in his culture: a. historical biography which admits to copious selections from letters and original papers; b. the "memoir," whose method is "more rambling and relating more to affairs of a private nature." Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture*, (New York, 1977) p. 188. Sparks was a personal friend of the Mayers.
5. Most of Frank Mayer's sketchbooks, about 60 in all, are at the Baltimore Museum; two of importance are at the State Library in Annapolis; other sketches are owned by heirs and the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore.
6. Frank Mayer, unpublished autobiography, "Bygones and Rigamaroles," p.17.
7. This pioneer work was started while Sparks was pastor of the First Unitarian Church of Baltimore from 1819 to 1823.
8. George B. Callcott, *History in the United States, 1800-1860: Its Practice and Purpose*, (Baltimore, 1970), p. 101.
9. *Ibid* p. 102; see also *Southern Quarterly Review* 9(April 1846).
10. Mayer, "Rigamaroles," p. 17.
11. Brantz Mayer, *Baltimore Past and Present*, (Baltimore, 1871), p. 360.
12. Brantz Mayer, *Genealogy of the Family of Mayer*, (Baltimore, 1878), "Introduction".
13. Mayer "Rigamaroles," p. 26. Also see *Maryland History Notes* 11(May 1953): 1.
14. Their first child, Anna Maria Mayer, was born November 21, 1785 and married Frederick Konig (1771-1853). Their second child, Lewis Casper Zorn Mayer, was born June 24, 1793 and married Susan O. Mayer (1799-1888) on October 28, 1817. One of Lewis' children was named after Charles and served as President of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad from 1873 to 1896. Anna died June 2, 1868. Lewis died October 19, 1832.
15. John Neal, *Wandering Recollections of a Somewhat Busy Life*, (Boston, 1869), p. 164.
16. Thomas J. Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County*, 2 vols. (Baltimore, 1871) 2: 714; Alfred Goldsborough Mayor, *Biographical Memoir of Alfred Marshall Mayer, 1836-1897*, (Washington, D.C., 1916), 129. The different spellings of Mayer and Mayor are both correct; Alfred G. Mayor was the son of Alfred M. Mayer, the former having changed the spelling.
17. Harriet Hyatt Mayor, *The Mayer Family, Supplement to the Genealogy of the Maryland and Pennsylvania Family of Brantz Mayer*, (Annisquam, Mass., 1911), centerfold genealogical chart.
18. Mayor, *Biographical Memoir*, p. 243.
19. Mayer, "Rigamaroles," p. 17.
20. *Ibid*, p. 18.
21. *Ibid*.
22. Weston Latrobe, "Art and Artists in Baltimore," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 33(September 1938): 213.
23. Frank Mayer collection, John Sylvester, Jr.
24. Mayer, "Rigamaroles," p.141.
25. *Ibid*, p. 136.
26. Francis F. Bierne, *The Amiable Baltimoreans*, (New York, 1951), p. 204. See also Jared Sparks, "Baltimore", *North American Review* 20(January, 1825): 136, 137: "a very accurate and complete survey has been made, not only of the harbor of Baltimore, but also of the Patapsco river to its outlet at North Point, and of the Bay itself as far down as Annapolis . . . wholly executed under the immediate direction of Lewis Brantz, Esq., partly at the expense of the city, and partly of several insurance companies, with the express purpose of facilitating the navigation of the river and the harbour." John McDermott, *Seth Eastman, Pictorial Historian of the Indian*, (Oklahoma, 1961), p. 89. The original sketch of Pittsburg is in the Carnegie Library, Pittsburg. Dorothy and M.V. Brewington, *Marine Paintings and Drawings in the Peabody Museum*, (Salem, Mass., 1968), p. 19: "Herald, Sphinx, Grace, Perseverance, Cleopatra, Cornwallis, La Gloirie 3rd November 1800"; signed, "Lewis Brantz Commander of the Sphinx." (M3918).
27. Mayer Papers, Maryland Historical Society; Lewis Brantz to Charles Mayer, November 5, 1832.
28. Mayer Papers, Detroit Public Library, Burton Collection: Correspondence from N.P. Willis to Brantz Mayer. Willis and Brantz were very close friends. In the considerable correspondence between them, Willis frequently addressed Brantz as "My dear double". Letters from Miller to Mayer, Mayer Papers, MS.1574, Maryland Historical Society, clearly indicate that Miller sought Mayer's advice and approval: Alfred J. Miller to Brantz Mayer April 23, 1837, and October 8, 1840.
29. Joseph Henry became the mentor and patron of Frank Mayer's younger brother, physicist and author Alfred Marshall Mayer (1836-1897), who was named after Chief Justice John Marshall (1755-1835), a man much admired by Charles Mayer.
30. Harold Dickson, Ed., *Observations on American Art-Selections from the writing of John Neal (1793-1876)*, (State College, Pa., 1943), p. 174.
31. Mayer Papers, Maryland Historical Society; John Neal to "My dear friend, Portland Sept 12/41." Mayer Papers, Detroit Public Library: N.P. Willis to "My dear Brantz, Glenmary, Sept. 1841."

32. The first edition was published in New York by the New World Press. A London and Paris edition was published the same year by Wiley and Putnam. In 1846 a third edition, dedicated to the Honorable Powhatan Ellis, Envoy to Mexico, "with the historical portion brought down to the present," was published in Baltimore by W. Taylor and Co., and republished in 1847 in Philadelphia by G. B. Zieber and Co. (This was translated into Spanish in 1953). In 1852 Wiley and Putnam published *History of the War Between Mexico and the United States* "with a historical, geographical, political, statistical and social account of the country from the period of the invasion of the Spaniards to the present time, and an historical sketch of the late war" with illustrations by Frank Mayer. In 1907, *Mexico, Central America and the West Indies*, edited by Frederick Albion Ober, "from the work of Brantz Mayer" was published in Philadelphia by J. D. Morris & Co. This was reprinted by P. F. Collier and Son of New York in 1913, 1916, 1928, 1936 and 1939.
33. Mayer Papers, Detroit Public Library, n.d.
34. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, 32(vols. (Cambridge, England, 1911) 22: 295. Philip McFarland, *Sojourners*, (New York, 1979), pp. 354, 355.
35. See Frederick Merk, *Slavery and the Annexation of Texas*, (New York, 1972), pp. 8, 10. According to Merk, "there appeared in the expansionist press agitation for the annexation of Texas . . . heralded by a widely noticed letter of Thomas W. Gilmore, a member of Congress and a close friend of President Tyler," which was initially published in the *Baltimore Republican and Argus*, January 19, 1843 and republished in the *Madisonian*, the Tyler organ in Washington, January 23, 1843. On January 23, 1844, Daniel Webster came out flatly against the thesis that the annexation of Texas was constitutionally permissible. This echoed an antiannexation statement made by John Quincy Adams on March 3, 1843.
36. Jerry E. Patterson, "Brantz Mayer, Man of Letters", *Maryland Historical Magazine* 42 (December 1957): 281.
37. *Catalogue of a Choice Collection of Books*, including the entire library belonging to Col. Brantz Mayer, Baltimore, Md., comprising an extension of valuable history of Md., Mexico and Central America.
38. Patterson, "Brantz Mayer". See Brantz Mayer, *History of the War Between Mexico and the United States*, p. 52. When Henry Clay was Secretary of State under John Quincy Adams, he directed Joel Poinsett "To negotiate for the transfer of Texas" to the United States. In 1825 the *North American Review* 22(1825): 77-79, (under the editorship and ownership of Jared Sparks from 1824 to 1830), published a review of Poinsett's *Notes on Mexico*, the initial American study on Mexico, (Philadelphia, 1824). The review described Poinsett as a representative in Congress "well known for his services as a legislator in the national councils and for the generous zeal with which he has for many years embraced and supported the cause of South American emancipation" (p. 77). Carl Degler, *The Other South* (New York, 1974), p. 77, points out that Poinsett was a Unionist who wrote his cousin in England in 1847 that he looked "forward to the gradual extinguishment of slavery . . . it is becoming burdensome. . . We are a shrewd people and if let alone will consult our own interest and employ that labor which is most profitable. . . I have long been convinced that a free State has greatly the advantage over the one which admits of slavery."
39. Rebecca Funk, *A Heritage to Hold in Fee, 1817-1917, First Unitarian Church of Baltimore*, (Baltimore, 1962), pp. 20, 26. Brantz Mayer, "Commerce, Literature and Art, Discourse delivered at the Dedication of the Baltimore Atheneum, Oct. 23, 1848", *Maryland Historical Society Publications*, 1(1844-1848).
40. Douglas, *Feminization of American Culture*, p. 175.
41. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, 32 volumes (Cambridge, England, 1911)9: 334.
42. Charles Mayer, "First Discourse Before the Maryland Historical Society, June 20, 1844", *Maryland Historical Society Publications*, 1(1844-1848): 3-29.
43. Brantz Mayer, "History, Possessions and Prospects of the Maryland Historical Society. Inaugural Discourse of B. Mayer as President of the Society.
44. Mayer's Sketchbooks, Baltimore Museum, #12, 1847. Mrs. James Parks, descendant of the artist Michael Laty (1826-1848), suggested names for some of those initials denoting the members sketched by Mayer at the first meeting of the Maryland Art Association. Ottolie Sutro, "The Wednesday Club", *Maryland Historical Magazine* 38(March 1943): 62.
45. Eugene L. Didier, "The Social Athens of America", *Harpers New Monthly* 65(June 1882): 20-35.
46. Mayer Collection of John Sylvester, Jr.
46. Bertha Heilbron, Ed., *With Pen and Pencil on the Frontier in 1851: The Diary and Sketches of Frank Blackwell Mayer*, Minnesota Historical Society, (St. Paul, 1932). Mayer actually wrote two journals with two accompanying sketchbooks. The first set is owned by the Newberry Library in Chicago, Ayer Collection. The second, commissioned by Harry Walters in 1897, is, unlike the original, complete and thus includes the important treaty signing ceremonies at Traverse de Sioux and Mendota with the Sioux Indians which opened the entire Minnesota Territory to settlement.

This journal, badly charred as a result of the Baltimore fire of 1904, is now owned by the Museum of Natural History in New York City. The second set of sketches, more finely executed than the first, are in the Rare Book Room of the New York Public Library.

See Jean Jepson Page, "Frank Blackwell Mayer, Painter of the Minnesota Indian", *Minnesota History* 46 (Summer 1978): 66-74, for this side of Mayer's career, including some of the Baltimore background which prompted him in these efforts.

47. *The Crayon* 3(July 1856): 221.
48. George B. Coale often expressed concern as to who would accept his collection; Garnett McCoy, Deputy Director, Archives of American Art, Washington, D.C., editor of the journal of New York artist Jervis McEntee (1828-1891), long time friend of Coale. Also see Lilian M. C. Randall, *The Diary of George A. Lucas*, 2 vols. (Princeton, 1979)1: 78. In 1858, Coale wrote a *Manual of Photography*, (Philadelphia, Lippincott). In 1876, Coale purchased Frank Mayer's painting, "Seventy Six", "76" or, "Continental", which was chromolithographed by the Baltimore lithographer, A. Hoen, in 1875 and exhibited at the Philadelphia Centennial where it won a medal. Now owned by the National Museum of American Art, it hung in the White House during the Nixon administration. It is my belief that Mayer's "76" inspired the widely known and distributed "Spirit of '76" by Archibald Willard, whose first rendition of the subject was painted in 1876 and was also exhibited at the Philadelphia Centennial where it hung in the same room as Mayer's.
49. *The Crayon* 7(January 1860): 23.
50. Sutro, "The Wednesday Club", p. 63.
51. Meredith Janvier, *Baltimore in the Eighties and Ninties* (Baltimore, 1933), p. 118.
52. Frank Blackwell Mayer, "Old Maryland Manners", *Scribners* 17 (January, 1879): 315-331; Quote on p. 320. Other articles written and illustrated by Mayer are "Signs and Symbols" *Scribners* 17 September, 1879): 705-714; "Aunt Eve Interviewed". *Harpers New Monthly* 46(March 1873): 509-517; "Old Baltimore and Its Merchants", *Harpers New Monthly* 9(January 1880): 15-180. Mayer also illustrated "Washington as a Burgher", *Harpers New Monthly* 9(February 1880): 353-360.
53. Scrapbook Mayer Papers, Maryland Historical Society; Baltimore *Herald*, April 5, 1896; Baltimore *Sun*, July 29, 1899.
54. Mayer Papers, Metropolitan Museum.
55. Heilbron, *Frank Blackwell Mayer*, p.13.
56. Mayer's Account Book, Baltimore Museum.
57. John Pendleton Kennedy was one year younger than Charles and began his legal career in Charles' office. The youthful Brantz may have found Kennedy's less rigidly intellectual but imaginatively expansive and socially effective style more attractive than that of his older brother, notwithstanding the fact that he had much affection and respect for the latter.

CATALOGUE RAISONNÉ OF UNLOCATED PAINTINGS OF FRANCIS BLACKWELL MAYER, as denoted in his two Account Books, by patron's name, title or description of painting or drawing, date, and amount of payment. Most of Mayer's commissions were from Marylanders.

<i>Patron's Name</i>	<i>Title or Description</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Amount Paid (\$)</i>
Alexander, T.H.	Crayon head	Aug '56	50.
Alison, R.T.	Crayon	May '52	20.
		Sept. '52	5.
Barry, D.C.	Crayon head	June '53	30.
Bradenbaugh, Charles	Crayon drawing	May 1, 1851	10.
Brooks, N.C.	designs for "Ceasar"	June '56	25.
Brown, Albert M.	Crayon	Dec. '53	50.
Brown, C.M.	2 still life	1887	12.
Brown, Marguerite Phila.	PORT MAY	1889	30.
Brown, Mary S.	2 drawings		
	TE DEUM		
	ANNAPOLIS COLONIAL		
	BALTIMORE 1814		
	FROSTBURG VALLEY 1888		

Brown, Robert P.	Crayon head and engraving	Sept. '52	30.
	Crayon head	Dec. '53	10.
Eaton, C.J.M.	One ivory black drawing	June '55	20.
Eaton, George N.	THE TRAVELING TINKER (with 2 other paintings)	1868	500.
Gassaway, L.	ANNAPOLIS	1873	50.
Garrett, Robert	PEDIGREE (MAKING OF A GENTLEMAN)	1891	125.
Gist, Miss T.N.	2 Crayon Heads	Jan. '53	105.
Graham, Wm.	sketch-Old Fool	Aug. '62	10.
Green, J.S. Copley Boston	THE JESTER (THE KING'S JESTER)	1868-9	500
Hager, Benj.	Crayon head	Nov. '53	40.
Hambleton, T.H.	ST. MARY'S ANNAPOLIS	1887	50.
Harris, J. Morrison	Crayon head	Mar. '51	10.
Hedian, Myers	A COLONIAL COURTSHIP, Oil	1880	100.
Henry, Mrs. H.	Crayon portrait	April '50	50.
Herriman, W.H., Rome	THE SAVOY TAILOR	1869	300.
Hiss, J.H.	PROSPETER	1880	
	Eliza Mayer (?)	1880	
Holmes, U.S.N.	THE BEE-HIVES	1883	40.
Hoogewerff, George A.	Crayon	Oct. '60	25.
	2 drawings	Jan. '62	25.
	AGE OF INFANCY	1866	375.
Howell, H.B.	Crayon, infant's head	Sept. '53	12.
Howland, Edgar A.	THE JESTER (THE WISE FOOL)	1863	
Hutchins, Mrs. T.H.	(Crayon)	May '55	30.
Jenkins, J. Stricker	3 drawings	Jan/Feb. '62	30.
Jenkins, Michael	FRUIT & FLOWERS	1888	
Keener, W.H.	oil	c. Oct. '62	50.
	THE MAP		400.
Keishler, W.H.	Crayon head	Mar. '53	35.
	Crayon head	Nov. '53	50.
Kennedy, J.P.	Ivory black drawing		35.
Keyser, E.	ALLEGHANY BACKBONE	1887	40.
Keyser, William	LYRIC MELODY	1894	
Konig, Frederick	2 crayon heads	May '52	40.
Latrobe, Ferdinand C.	PLATO	c. 1859	
Latrobe, J.H.B.	THE ARTIST (AN ITALIAN ARTIST)	1868	500.
Legrand, Chief Justice	Crayon	c. '52	
Lehr, Rob't	(Crayon)	April '53	50.
M, I.F.	ST. TAMINA	1897	100.
McGuire, Fred. B.	THE LOOK-OUT	1864	
McKeim, G.	PIGS	1860	
	Oil		
McCubbin, Sam'l J.	A and Z	before '72	
McKay, H.		1875	100.
McKensie, J.S. Jr.	Crayon head	Oct. '52	25.
McMahon, J.V.L.	Crayon	Aug. '60	50.
		1873	
McMahon, Chief Justice of Old	Crayon head	c. '52	
Mayer, C.F.	THE OLD CLOCK	1879	Gift
	THE MARINE PAINTER	'72	
	TALKING BUSINESS	1879	Gift
	Oil		

Mayer, Charles F.	Head of WABASHAW	1860	
Mayer, Christian L.,	A SAVOY PEASANT (SAVOY 1500)	1877	50.
Mayer, Julia L., York		1881	
Mayhew, Wm. S.	Crayon head	Feb-22 '51	10.
Meredith, W.	Crayon head	Jan. '53	10.
Mitchell, G.F.	Copy of SIR ANTHONY BROWN	1873	100.
Munroe, Prof	THE TRAPPIST (THE WORLD TO COME)	1880	
Parmly, G.W.	HOGSHEAD	1868	120.
	KITCHEN	1868	120.
Parmly, G.W., Paris	AUTUMN IN THE ALLEGHANIES	1883	50.
Pearce, C.R.	Crayon head	Oct. '52	30.
Rhodes, B.M.	EXCHANGE OF GALLENTY (?see Mrs. Dade of Mobile)	1866	
	DARBY JOAN	1868	375.
	THE INVADER (THE INVASION)	1867	
Riggs, George W.	THE LOST LETTER	1863	
	Oil		
	SPLICING A HAUSER	1866	400.
	THE CAVALIER	1867	500.
(or Charles Toppan?)			
Rogers, E.L.	(Crayon)	Dec. '60	50.
St. Mary's Church	CARROLL HOUSE	1888	40.
Schultz, H.	THE STUDENT	1897	40.
Shaw, Miss Eliza	Crayon head	April '53	50.
Stearns, Dr.	PORTRAIT OF A CHILD	1869	300.
	Oil		
Stewart, C. Morton	THE OPEN GATE	1855	
	Oil		
	OLD HUNDRED	1862	
	THE INITIALS	1862	
	THE HILL-SIDE	1862	
Stewart, W.A.	A DAY DREAM (A.D. 1750)	1877	400.
Sumner, Penelope Rubina	Crayon head	July '52	30.
Tyson, Fred	THE MILLER* ALFRED JACOB MILLER* * these may well be the same	1867 '72	150.
	PORTRAIT OF A LADY	1875	150.
	CHILD'S HEAD	1877	50.
Tyson, Rich	Crayon of a child	Sept. '52	25.
Tyson, R.W.	VIVANDIERE	1863	
	Oil		
Teackle, George, W.	Crayon (posthumous)	1874	100.
Upham, Henry—Mary L.	THE FLANNEUR (THE SAUNTER)	1867	500.
	Oil		
Upham, H.C.	THE MONK ORGANIST	1881	
Wagner, W.B.	MARYLAND 1750	c. '75	100.
	Original study		
Waite, W.C.	CUTTING CORN	Oct. '58	30.
	Sepia drawing		
	Crayon of BURRITT	Oct. '58	30.
Walters, H.	WASHINGTON'S RESIGNATION	1896	50.
Warfield, Henry M.	THE RAKE	1864	
	THE ROSE	c. 1864	
Williams, G.A.	Crayon	Oct. '60	50.

Wright, Rob't. C.	Crayon head	May '53	50.
Wyman, S.G.	Crayon head	May '53	50.
	A SATYR	c. 1868	

By TITLE—Ownership and Location Unknown

BURRITT'S STUDY	Oil	1859	
GEORGE CALVERT	Oil on canvas 64" × 43"	1890	
CHILDHOOD	Oil	Prior '72	
COLUMBIA	Oil	Prior '72	
THE COUNTESS U	Oil	Prior '72	
THE FEDERAL COCKAGE		c. '79	
FIREMAN'S PROCESSION	Drawing	Dec. '51	7.
FLOWER STUDY		1877	
THE FLUTE		1896	
GRAND SEIGNEUR		1866	350.
HONOR VS BRAVERY		1887	
INNOCENCE		Prior '72	
LANDSCAPE- WESTERN MARYLAND		1889	75.
THE MINER'S HOME		1896	
THE OLD BACHELOR		1865	
THOMAS PAINE IN PRISON		1891	
PROSPECTING	Oil	1870	
SAM (THE EAGLE)		Prior '72	
VALLEY FROM FROSTBURG		1889	
THE VIOLINIST	Oil	1859	

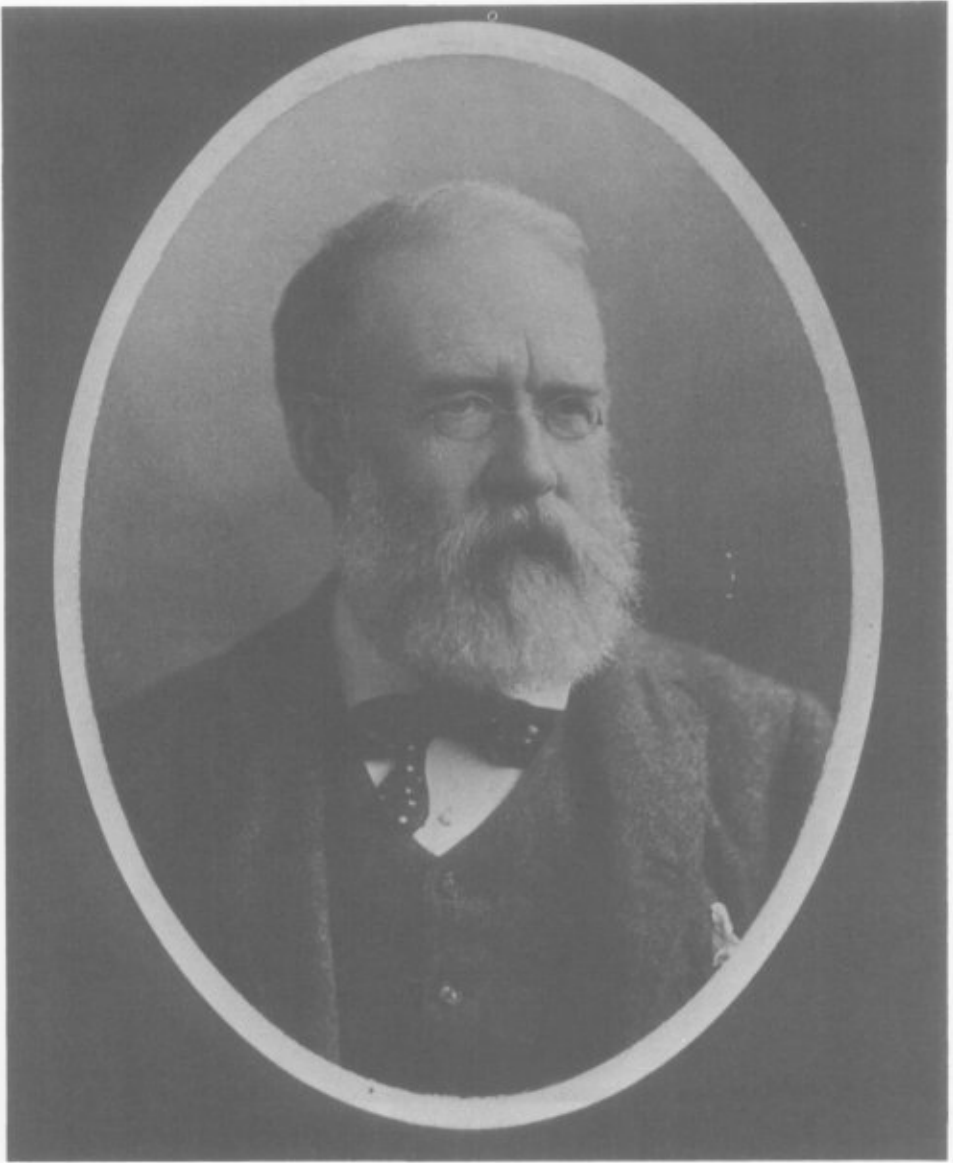


FIGURE 1. Francis Blackwell Mayer.
Courtesy, The Baltimore Museum of Art (36.674).



FIGURE 2. "M. I.," by Francis Blackwell Mayer.
Pencil, 4-3/4 x 4 inches. Courtesy, The Baltimore Museum of Art.

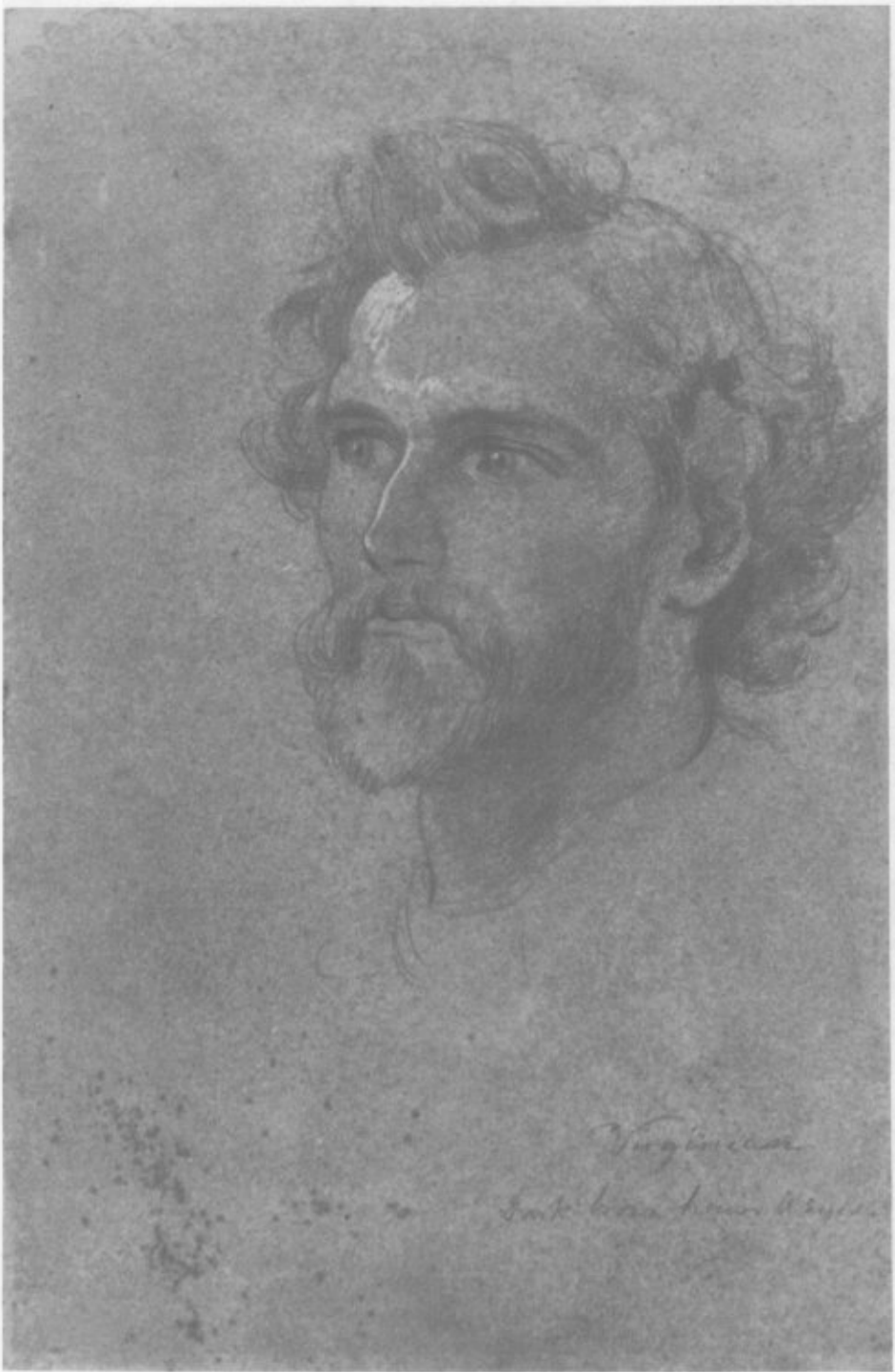


FIGURE 3. "Virginian," by Francis Blackwell Mayer.
Drawing, graphite heightened with white crayon, 214 × 138 mm.
Courtesy, The Baltimore Museum of Art.



FIGURE 4. "Sarah Jones," by Francis Blackwell Mayer.
Pencil and white crayon, 7-1/4 x 4-1/4 inches. Courtesy, The
Baltimore Museum of Art (36.213).



FIGURE 5. "Aunt Rose," by Francis Blackwell Mayer.
Black crayon and white crayon, 5-1/8 × 7-1/2 inches.
Courtesy, The Baltimore Museum of Art (36.215).

The Northernmost Southern Town: A Sketch of Pre-Civil War Annapolis

HAROLD W. HURST

THE CAPITAL OF THE MOST NORTHERN OF THE SLAVE STATES AND THE county seat of Anne Arundel, one of the five tobacco growing counties in southern Maryland, pre-Civil War Annapolis lay near the northeastern apex of the great plantation belt which stretched from the Chesapeake Bay to Galveston, Texas. Located only a few miles south of the rapidly expanding commercial and industrial metropolis of Baltimore, the somnolent little city on the Severn had, by contrast, retained the flavor of an earlier era when wealthy planters and lawyers dominated the politics and society of the entire Chesapeake region. In 1860 Annapolis was the only town of any size in the border state of Maryland which was still genuinely Southern in character. It was, in fact, the northernmost "Southern" town on the east coast of the United States.¹

Because most nineteenth-century travelers by-passed Annapolis for Baltimore and Washington, we are left with few on-the-spot descriptions of outsiders who undoubtedly would have been intrigued with this enchanting little city.² It was, of course, one of the most picturesque towns on the east coast. The presence of the state capitol, the Naval Academy, St. John's College, and at least a score of magnificent Georgian-style mansions dating from the colonial era lent to the town a rich historical and institutional character. Its location on the Chesapeake Bay added physical charm to the surroundings. Moreover, the atmosphere was unmarred by the warehouses, flour mills, and cotton factories which lined the main streets and hugged the waterfronts of such nearby communities as Georgetown and Alexandria that had similar histories and architectural traditions. Finally, the town's close relationship with the surrounding plantation country, the manners and habits of the local gentry, and the presence of a large black population endowed the place with a distinctly Southern atmosphere found in no other Maryland community with a population of more than 4,000.

The economy of antebellum Annapolis helped to sustain a leisured-pace, Southern atmosphere. The thriving commerce which had created the great fortunes of the eighteenth century merchants had long since passed away. After 1815 politics remained the chief source of income for this small capital city, especially during the months in which the legislature was in session. Governmental activities and the presence of out-of-town politicians provided a lucrative business for local lawyers, merchants, innkeepers, and small retailers. During the 1840s, however, two events occurred which left a decided imprint on the town's

Now residing in Bethesda, Mr. Hurst published an article about the Maryland gentry in old Georgetown in the 1978 *Maryland Historical Magazine*.

economy. In 1840 the Annapolis and Elkridge Railroad, which had been incorporated in 1836, was completed, providing the town with links to the commercial facilities of Baltimore and Washington. A much greater stimulus was furnished for the local economy when the Naval Academy was established in 1845. The erection of the mess hall in 1847, the chapel in 1850, and the Stribling row buildings during the early 1850s provided employment for many of the town's masons, carpenters, and laborers, some of whom were recent Irish immigrants. The presence of the Academy student body and faculty also helped to generate business for the local mercantile community.

Pre-Civil War Annapolis was also a traditional Southern market town, and the principal trading center for Anne Arundel County which contained 1,295 farms and plantations. The planters came regularly to the city, at the proper seasons, to lay up supplies for their slaves and families. The completion of the new market house in 1857 not only "added an ornament to the city," but provided larger facilities for the town's bustling agricultural activities.³

The socio-economic structure of antebellum Annapolis approximated that of the other towns and cities located in the tidewater South. The top of the social pyramid was occupied by a clique of planters, merchants, and lawyers who controlled the political and social life of the community and surrounding countryside. Occupying elegant and spacious mansions, many of which dated from colonial days, the Brewers, Chases, Claudes, Greens, Hammonds, Harwoods, Igleharts, Randalls, Rideouts, Sands, Stewarts, Stocketts, and Worthingtons followed a mode of existence and entertained social and political attitudes which had undergone only minute alterations since the Revolutionary era.

A typical representative of this class and the most illustrious citizens of antebellum Annapolis was Alexander Randall (1803-1881). Born into a family which had played a prominent role in community life since colonial days, he was raised in the famous Bordley-Randall House which still stands on Randall Place between College Avenue and State Circle. Educated at St. John's College, he was later elected as a Whig to the twenty-seventh Congress in 1841. In 1851 he served as a member of the Maryland Constitutional Convention; much later in his political career, during the Civil War, he was elected state attorney general.

Probably no other man left such a profound impact on the life of the city during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. For many years he was vestryman for St. Anne's Church; his fellow parishioners thought enough of him to elect him more than once to represent Maryland in the General Convention of the Episcopal Church. During the late 1850s he was active on the church building committee which raised funds to complete the neo-Gothic structure which still occupies a prominent place among the architectural landmarks of present day Annapolis. No endeavor in his native town was beyond the interest of this philanthropist and community activist. One of the incorporators of the Annapolis and Elkridge Railroad, he also filled the office of president for the Annapolis Water Company and the Annapolis Gas Company. In 1877 he was appointed president of the local Farmers National Bank, a post he held until his death. Local politics occasionally captured his attention; in 1860, for instance, he opposed measures to level a tax on private securities claiming that such a law would be "unjust to private stockholders."

An unswerving Unionist in politics, a zealous advocate of the temperance movement, and a supporter of the public school system, Randall's views separated him from some of the members of the local gentry; nevertheless, no one was more of a part of the fabric of community life in the "ancient city" than this old-fashioned aristocrat and churchman who served parish, town, and state throughout his long and active career.⁴

Most members of the upper class in pre-Civil War Annapolis were physicians, lawyers, or government officials. Gentlemen from old, established families like the Brewers, Harwoods, Johnsons, Nicholsons, Pratts, Stewarts, Tucks, and Worthingtons were practicing attorneys in local law firms or served as judges or clerks in the state courts located in the capital. Others such as John Rideout, George Wells, and Abraham and Dennis Claude combined careers in medicine with active service in state and local politics. Many of the city's prosperous businessmen were northerners or natives of less prestigious backgrounds, although the highest assessed merchant in the community was James Iglehart, the scion of a family which had lived in southern Maryland since 1740.⁵

Members of the local elite played an active role in every aspect of community life; they were elected to the town council and the Board of Aldermen; they served on the vestry of St. Anne's Church and the Board of Governors of St. John's College, and some of them, like Alexander Randall, were instrumental in establishing the Annapolis and Elkridge Railroad. Many were members and officers of the long established and exclusive South River and Tuesday Clubs where they whiled away their leisure hours and consumed sumptuous feasts in surroundings far removed from the lives of those of less exalted status.⁶

Despite the absence of any large industrial or commercial establishments, pre-Civil War Annapolis had a sizable group of middle class citizens. A survey of the 1860 census manuscripts reveals that there were a considerable number of merchants and lawyers of modest means, small shopkeepers, artisans, hotel keepers, and teachers at the Redemptorist seminary, St. John's College, and the Naval Academy. They formed a society separated by both ancestry and income from the patricians who lived in the great colonial mansions, and from the laborers, free blacks and slaves at the bottom of the social pyramid. Some of these middle class families were of local origins; others had come from the northern states and Europe within the last two or three decades. While Irish immigrants tended to be laborers who possessed no property, many of the German-born residents were innkeepers, bakers, or confectioners who owned property evaluated from a few hundred to about five thousand dollars. The presence of this stable group of bourgeois residents no doubt helped to augment much of the conservative unionist sentiment which characterized the political attitudes of a large portion of the community during the crisis days of 1860-1861.⁷

Blacks occupied the bottom of the social structure. Slaves were less prevalent in the town of Annapolis than in the rural parts of Tidewater Maryland and formed only 10 per cent of the total population in 1860. Free blacks, however, constituted 22 per cent of the population; some of them owned small businesses, and members of this group were largely responsible for the establishment and support of the local African Methodist Episcopal Church.⁸ Probably the most

TABLE 1
Highest Assessed Persons in Annapolis in 1860

Name	Assessment (\$)	Occupation/ Profession	Birthplace
Andrus, James	15,000	Merchant	Ireland
Blake, George	22,000	Superintendent Naval Academy	Md.
Boyle, Susan	15,000	—	Md.
Caldwell, S. S.	12,000	Lumber merchant	Pa.
*Chase, Hester	11,000	Farmer	Md.
*Claude, Dennis	11,000	Physician	Md.
*Claude, E. S.	19,000	—	Md.
*Gassaway, Louis	10,300	Clerk	Md.
Glen, W. S.	13,000	Methodist minister	Md.
Goodman, William R.	12,000	Apothecary	Md.
*Green, N. H.	14,000	Clerk, court	Md.
Haden(?), —	11,500	Ferry keeper	Md.
Heights, Thos E.	21,500	Treasurer, Md.	Md.
Iglehart, James	41,000	Merchant	Md.
Lamin(?), Susan	15,000	—	Md.
Mason, John T.	14,000	Lawyer	Md.
Miller, Oliver	10,000	Lawyer	Conn.
Phillips, Solomon	10,000	Merchant	Md.
Pratt, T. G.	65,000	Lawyer	Md.
*Randall, Alexander	16,000	Lawyer	Md.
*Rideout, John	19,000	Physician	Md.
*Sand, James	11,000	Merchant	Md.
Sprogel(?), Daniel	13,000	Master mason	Md.
*Stewart, James	22,500	Lawyer	Md.
Stockett, T. W.	35,000	Lawyer	Md.
*Tuck, Richard	16,000	—	Md.
*Tuck, William E.	22,000	Judge	Md.
Voorhees, P. F.	11,300	Comm, U.S. Navy	N.J.
Waites(?), Daniel	33,000	Merchant	Pa.
Walton, John	34,000	Farmer	England
Wagner, L. B.	12,500	Lawyer	Md.
Welch, A.	11,700	—	Md.
*Worthington, N.	10,500	Clerk	Md.

List is gathered from *Population Schedule of the Eighth Census of the U.S., 1860. Anne Arundel County, Maryland*. Roll 457, Microcopy 654, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Assessment figures include both real and personnel property. All persons assessed for more than \$10,000 are listed. An asterisk indicates that the person bears the name of a family which appeared on the Annapolis tax list in 1783. See Edward C. Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit. The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution, 1763-1806* (Baltimore, Maryland: The John Hopkins University Press, 1975), Appendix B, pp. 257-262. The Iglehart, Pratt, and Stockett families did not appear on this list, but they had long been active in the political and social life of the state.

The handwriting on the 1860 manuscript is very difficult to read; a question mark indicates that the spelling of the related name is not determinable.

prominent free black man in antebellum Annapolis was Henry Price, a descendant of Smith Price who was freed in 1797 by the will of St. Thomas Jenifer. Price owned a house on Main Street which he occupied between 1819 and his death in 1863 and which still stands today. The census of 1860 listed him as a merchant whose property was assessed for \$4,500.⁹ Yet despite the apparent respectability of free blacks like Price, the group as a whole was not always accorded the esteem which its members deserved. The *Gazette* in 1858 damned them with faint praise, stating that the lower class of foreigners "... will steal with greater gusto and with far greater facility than the free negroes can."¹⁰

During the colonial era the social life of Annapolis was enlivened by theatres, horse racing, gala balls, and hearty eating. Only Williamsburg and Charleston could boast of the same gay living and luxurious splendor which characterized existence in Annapolis during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. By the 1820s, however, the dwindling of some of the great fortunes and the growth of Methodism had left a sobering impact on the town's social life. Horseracing fell into disrepute after 1820. A temperance movement was initiated about 1830. Yet social life in antebellum Annapolis still retained some of its former southern flair. Gala events at the Naval Academy were the occasion for "brilliant assemblages" held in the Armory and Gymnasium. Social clubs founded during the colonial era continued to provide gourmet dining and pleasant leisure time activities for gentlemen of upper class status. An occasional visit from the circus companies delighted both children and adults of all classes. And while the town had no permanent theatre between 1845 and 1900, plays and other cultural events were incidental occurrences of some significance. The chief performance in 1858, for instance, was a concert in St. Mary's Church which featured the Baltimore Choir and the pianist to the King of Denmark. The price of admission, which was fifty cents a ticket, kept all but the well-to-do from attending.¹¹

Drilling and parading with local militia companies occupied the leisure hours of many young Annapolitans during the pre-Civil War era. These organizations, with their colorful uniforms and nomenclature, filled the need for male camaraderie and provided an outlet for the martial spirit of the times. Common to all communities in antebellum America, they were especially popular in the South, and Annapolis was no exception. The election crisis of 1860 apparently stimulated martial attitudes, for a grand military display in September of that year featured a parade of the Union Guard of South River, the Severn Guard, and the West River Guard which took place in front of the mansion of Thomas S. Iglehart. The on-looking throng was filled with "brilliant women and gallant gentlemen." More military displays followed the election. Five companies paraded on November 22. This massive demonstration was accompanied by pro-unionist speeches, one of which was delivered by Mayor John R. Magruder. Another parade on November 29 featured five local companies in addition to the cadets of St. John's College and visiting outfits from Baltimore.¹²

As elsewhere in the pre-Revolutionary South, Anglicanism was the religion of the gentry of Anne Arundel County and Annapolis. In St. Mary's County and some other portions of southern Maryland Catholicism remained the faith of many of the old established families, but the Church of England had been prevalent in Anne Arundel County since 1692 when St. Anne's parish was

founded. The first church building (1699) was one of the principal structures in the community during the eighteenth century. The parish survived the hard times which followed upon the Revolution, and a new church was erected in 1792 which remained until 1859 and continued to testify to the unceasing strength of the Episcopal Church in the ancient city on the Severn. In 1860, as in earlier times, members of the prestigious Brice, Dulaney, Hammond, Harwood, Lloyd, Nicholson, and Randall families were ushered to their choice pews while humbler whites and free blacks climbed to cheaper seats in the gallery.¹³

Methodism had long figured prominently in the religious history of Maryland. In the tidewater section of the state the movement became the religion of the masses in the decades following the Revolution. The first Methodist society in Annapolis was organized in 1785, and during the early years of the nineteenth century the congregation worshipped in a blue painted meeting house located on Maryland Avenue near the State House. Between 1820 and 1859 the Methodist church was a "neat, brick building, with a pressed-brick front" where Lafayette attended divine service during his visit to the town in 1824.¹⁴

The late 1850s witnessed a flurry of church building in Annapolis. St. Anne's Church was destroyed by a devastating fire on the night of February 14, 1858. A magnificent neo-Gothic red brick church arose on the foundations of the old structure. The new building, which boasted of the largest chancel of any Episcopal church in Maryland, was first used for divine service during the summer of 1859. During the same year the Methodists tore down their old house of worship to replace it with a Romance style building modeled after the Hick Street Methodist Church in Brooklyn, New York.¹⁵

For many years the Roman Catholic residents of Annapolis had worshipped in the private chapel of the Carroll family residence. In 1853 the grand-daughters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton donated the family property to the Redemptorist order which later established a school for novitiates on the grounds. The presence of this seminary, together with the increased number of Irish and German immigrants of the Roman Catholic faith, resulted in demands for a more commodious place of worship within the town. The new church, erected between 1858 and 1860, was, and is, a charming Victorian-Gothic structure, 68½ feet wide and 93 feet long, with six spacious stained glass windows on each side of the nave. Containing 130 pews which supposedly accommodated one thousand people, St. Mary's was, at that time, one of the largest Catholic churches in the state of Maryland.¹⁶

Despite the successful completion of these new and impressive church buildings and the outward appearance of religious prosperity, there must have been an apparent lack of spiritual intensity in antebellum Annapolis. In 1858 the *Gazette* lamented the lack of religion in the community "while so much deep religious interest is pervading our land." The revivals which swept the rest of America during the late 1850s evidently by-passed Annapolis.¹⁷

Like most true southerners, the Annapolis gentry manifested a keen interest in both local and state politics. The "ancient city" was the birthplace of many of antebellum Maryland's leading statesmen. Natives of the town like Alexander Randall, Reverdy Johnson, Thomas George Pratt, Nicholas Brewer, Jr., and Henry Winter Davis played an important role in state politics before, during, and

after the Civil War. Reverdy Johnson, a childhood playmate of Alexander Randall, was elected to the United States Senate in 1845, but resigned in 1849 to become attorney general under President Zachary Taylor. He later served as Minister to Great Britain. Nicholas Brewer, whose father had been a judge for many years, was appointed to the Maryland court in 1837. Noted for his "skill and accuracy as a special pleader," he was also remembered for his dramatic rescue of an abolitionist from an Annapolis mob in 1838. Henry Winter Davis, whose father had been rector of St. Anne's Church, served as a unionist congressman during the Civil War. "Handsome in person and dignified in manner," he was noted for his "eloquence and power as a speaker." Thomas George Pratt served as governor during the 1840s, was later elected to the United States Senate, and became an ardent secessionist in 1860.¹⁸

Other citizens of the town were active in local politics. Dennis Claude, a prominent physician who died in 1863 at the age of 85, was mayor of the town between 1828 and 1837 and again in 1853. Brewers, Duvals, Harwoods, Magruder, Worthingtons, and members of other old, established families also occupied the mayor's chair in the period between 1820 and 1860. During the 1840s and 1850s prestigious lawyers, physicians, and merchants such as Dr. Abram Claude, William Tell Claude, Dr. William Brewer, James H. Iglehart, James Sands, Jonathan Pinkey, Dr. John Rideout, Richard Swann, and Dr. George Wells were elected to the Board of Aldermen and the Common Council. Born and bred in an era before politics became a "dirty word", antebellum Annapolitans found no harm or difficulty in combining the dignified practice of law and medicine with the hurly-burly, everyday activities of local governmental affairs.¹⁹

Politics in pre-Civil War Annapolis was influenced by the economic conditions and social attitudes prevalent in southern Maryland. A tobacco growing region with many plantations, the five counties of St. Mary's, Charles, Calvert, Prince George, and Anne Arundel embraced a white population of 37,945 in 1859; by contrast, slaves numbered 40,622 and there were, in addition, 10,622 free blacks.²⁰ It is not surprising, therefore, that conservative sentiment and a rabid fear of abolitionism were rife throughout the area. Originally Federalist in political leanings, most of the planters in the district became Whigs during the 1830s—probably because of "tradition, or less charitably, inertia."²¹ Although some of Anne Arundel's leading citizens were Democrats, more of them were likely to elect Whigs to Congress, the state house, and the local Board of Aldermen. For a short time during the late 1850s the Know-Nothing faction received the support of a considerable portion of the local citizenry. In October of 1857 the American Party swept their local candidates into office and helped place Thomas Holliday Hicks in the governor's chair.²²

In 1860 attention shifted to the excitement created by the four-cornered presidential election of that year. Conservative unionist sentiment, rooted in Whiggery and nurtured by the Annapolis *Gazette*, claimed the allegiance of a considerable portion of the population. Prominent local citizens like Alexander Randall, Henry Winter Davis, and Dr. Dennis Claude were staunch friends of the Constitutional Union Party. Throughout 1860 and early 1861, the *Gazette* never tired of beating the drums in favor of the constitution and the union cause. In August of 1860, as the electioneering rhetoric grew more vituperative, the *Gazette*

raved that both Breckinridge and Douglas were "disunion candidates" and that "Breckinridge, beyond a doubt is a sectional candidate" who had become "Yan-cey-fied."²³

But pro-Breckinridge attitudes also found a following in this essentially southern community. As historian Riley put it: "The political movements in the extreme Southern States vibrated in Maryland."²⁴ Annapolis, the largest community in the Tidewater section of the state, felt these vibrations to a greater extent than did the towns in the northern and western part of the state. On the eve of the election, for instance, Governor Pratt addressed a large Breckinridge rally in the town.²⁵ Such events provided evidence that ideas other than those to be found in the *Gazette* shaped the political thinking of at least some native Annapolitans.

The election results clearly reflected the divergent feelings of this border community with strong southern traditions. Bell, the unionist candidate, won 261 votes; Breckinridge came close with 227, while Douglas gained 36 and Lincoln polled only one vote. The vote in the county approximated that of the town; Anne Arundel County as a whole gave Bell 1,041 votes to 1,017 for Breckinridge and 98 for Douglas.²⁶

The post-election period found the *Gazette* still an ardent defender of the unionist position. In a January, 1861 a long editorial outlined the geographical, military, and economic reasons why Maryland should not secede but remain within the union.²⁷ April witnessed the victory of the pro-union ticket in the municipal elections.²⁸ In June Annapolis voted for the unionist candidate to Congress (Charles B. Calvert) by a margin of 296 to 127.²⁹ Young men of the unionist persuasion formed the Union Home Guard in August.³⁰

But the Federal occupation of the town in April, the early military successes of the Confederacy, and the fear of a negro insurrection fanned pro-Southern feelings during the summer months of 1861. In September a meeting of the "Secesh Democracy" was held in the town to appoint delegates to convention organized to nominate candidates for Congress. The *Gazette* claimed that these men were "in favor of the dissolution of the Union and the recognition of the Southern Confederacy."³¹ Southern sentiment and the Democratic Party found an even stronger following in the surrounding rural areas where Federal soldiers were less able to thwart the activities of those who were hardly sympathetic to the union cause.³² Annapolis itself had its hardcore of pro-Southern followers. As late as 1863 such prominent citizens and members of the bar as Thomas G. Pratt, William Tell Claude, George M. Duvall, and Nicholas Green refused to take an oath of allegiance to the union.³³ Never a hotbed of secessionism, Annapolis was, nevertheless, an essentially Southern community—a militarily occupied town unhappy with its captive position in Federal territory.

REFERENCES

1. The city of Baltimore and the smaller towns of northern and western Maryland had few or no characteristics of the tidewater region of the state and cannot be considered genuinely "southern" in atmosphere. While the Eastern Shore communities such as Cambridge, Easton, and Chestertown were a part of the plantation area, they were smaller in size than Annapolis and possessed none of the urban characteristics of the principal towns on the western side of the Bay. Annapolis was, indeed, the largest "southern" town in Maryland.

2. A check of the sources listed in Bernard C. Steiner's article in "Descriptions of Maryland" *Johns Hopkins University Studies* (22, Nos. 11-12) November, December, 1904, reveals that few foreign travelers heading South stopped in Annapolis during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Most of them spent their time in Baltimore and Washington.
3. The most comprehensive and reliable history of Annapolis is still Elihu S. Riley's *The Ancient City: History of Annapolis in Maryland, 1649-1887* (Annapolis: Record Printing Office, 1887). Another valuable source is Elmer Martin Jackson's *Annapolis* (Annapolis: Capitol Gazette Press, 1937). Chapter 7 in this work contains an interesting account of the Naval Academy. The best treatment of commercial activities in colonial Annapolis is Edward C. Papenfuss's *In Pursuit of Profit: The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution, 1763-1805* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975). The data on Anne Arundel farms and plantations is found in R. S. Fischer, *Gazetteer of the State of Maryland* (Baltimore: J. H. Colton, 1852), p. 52. The description of the new market house appears in the *Annapolis Gazette*, December 8, 1857.
4. J. D. Warfield, *The Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties, Maryland* (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Company, 1967), pp. 117-8; *The Biographical Cyclopedia of the Representative Men of Maryland and the District of Columbia* (Baltimore: National Biographical Publishing Company, 1879), pp. 531-2; *Gazette*, August 30, 1860.
5. *Population Schedule of the Eighth Census of the United States, 1860. Anne Arundel County, Maryland*, Roll 457, Microcopy No. 653, National Archives, Washington, D.C. hereafter referred to as *1860 Census, Anne Arundel County*. The 1860 census manuscripts provide tax assessment figures and information on the professional and occupational status of the listed residents. Iglehart appears on p. 65.
6. For the interesting histories of the South River and Tuesday Clubs see Hester Dorsey Richardson's *Side-Lights on Maryland History with Sketches of Early Maryland Families*. 2 vols. (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1913), 1: 89-93, 197-204.
7. See *1860 Census, Anne Arundel County*. There were at least fourteen merchants who owned property assessed between \$1,000 and \$10,000. Lawyers in the same moderate assessment category numbered thirteen, while there were a considerable number of clerks, some of whom were employed in the courts or at the State House. A number of German artisans, craftsmen, confectioners, and bakers are listed on pp. 6, 44, and 72. A long list of teachers engaged at the Naval Academy appears on pp. 86-89. The importance of the middle class in the antebellum South is discussed in Clement Eaton, *The Growth of Southern Civilization, 1790-1860* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961), chapter 7.
8. The *Gazette*, October 4, 1860, reported that the town population consisted of 3,127 white, 1,060 free blacks, and 475 slaves. At least a dozen free blacks owned businesses in antebellum Annapolis. See James Bradford, ed., *Anne Arundel County. A Bicentennial History. 1649-1977* (Bicentennial Committee, 1977), p. 16. Information on the black churches in Annapolis can be found in Carroll Greene ed., *The Mount Moriah A.M.E. Church*. (Baltimore: State of Maryland, Commission on Negro History and Culture, undated).
9. *1860 Census, Anne Arundel County*, p. 28.
10. *Gazette*, December 2, 1858.
11. See Riley, *Ancient City*, chapters 51-58, passim; *Gazette*, October 29, 1859.
12. *Gazette*, September 27, November 22, 29, 1860. Nationalism and the military cult in the antebellum South is analyzed in Rollin G. Osterweis, *Romanticism and Nationalism in the Old South* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949), chapter 7.
13. An informative summary of the historical development of the various churches in Annapolis is found in *Handbook of the City of Annapolis and the U.S. Naval Academy* (Annapolis: Maryland Republican Steam Press, 1888), chapter 7.
14. There were 479 Methodist churches in Maryland in 1850; membership totaled 68,855, of which 15,802 were colored. Anne Arundel County had 46 Methodist churches in the same year, whereas there were only 22 Episcopal churches and 14 of all other churches combined. See Fisher, *Gazetteer*, pp. 40 and 50.
15. *Handbook*, pp. 57-64; *Gazette*, August 19, 1859.
16. *Ibid.*, pp. 64-7; *Gazette*, May 27, 1858.
17. *Gazette*, April 22, 1858.
18. *Biographical Cyclopedia*, pp. 65-6; Warfield, *Founders*, pp. 128-9, 278-9, 324.
19. This information is gathered from Riley, *Ancient City*, chapters 52-58 and various issues of the *Gazette* for the late 1850s.
20. Charles Branch Clark, *Politics in Maryland During the Civil War* (Chestertown, Md: 1952), p. 13.
21. William J. Evitts, *A Matter of Allegiance, Maryland From 1850 to 1861* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), pp. 14-21.

22. *Gazette*, October 8, 1857.
23. *Ibid.*, August 2, 1860.
24. Riley, *Ancient City*, p. 281.
25. *Gazette*, November 1, 1860.
26. Riley, *Ancient City*, p. 281.
27. *Gazette*, January 31, 1861.
28. *Ibid.*, April 4, 1861.
29. *Ibid.*, June 20, 1861.
30. Riley, *Ancient City*, p. 299.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 301.
32. *Ibid.*
33. Jackson, *Annapolis*, p. 94.

A Delegate to the 1850-51 Constitutional Convention: James W. Anderson of Montgomery County

GEORGE M. ANDERSON, S.J.

DURING HIS SIX MONTHS AT ANNAPOLIS AS A MEMBER FROM MONTGOMERY County at the Constitutional Convention of 1850-51, James Wallace Anderson (1797-1881) wrote frequently to his wife and children at their family home, Vallombrosa, a two hundred and fifty acre farm near Rockville. He was one of five members from Montgomery County. The others were J. M. Kilgour and John Brewer, also of Rockville; Allen Bowie Davis of Triadelphia; and Washington Waters of Clarksburg.¹

A lawyer by profession, James had previously held the county positions of Register of Wills and Chief Judge of the Orphans Court. From his letters and those of his wife Mary (ca. 1810-1865), it is clear that he hoped his participation in the Convention would advance his political career. But James was a Democrat in a county which was then still largely Whig, and his vote on the question of representation—considered the most important—made him unpopular with many of the latter. Largely from motives of economy, he felt that two representatives from Montgomery County were sufficient for attending to the regular business of the House of Delegates, rather than the four there had previously been. As he realized after the Convention ended, however, his vote incurred anger among many, including his fellow Montgomery delegate, the Whig Allen Bowie Davis, who was absent at the time the vote was taken:

Bowie Davis returned here yesterday full of thunder and lightning against us who voted for giving but two delegates . . . instead of the 4 we have heretofore had. I care little for what noisy politicians may think or say, for I believe the reflecting people will see that we get all that we are entitled to, and all that we have any need of . . . We go for economy and for no larger legislature than is required for public business.²

James described the day of the vote in his letter to Mary of April 1:

We took a vote today which settled the great question of representation. It was on the proposition offered by Gov. Grason. A great number of propositions had to be offered by various gentlemen. The main one decided upon by the reformers was presented to the Convention by Mr. Fiery³ while I was confined to my room and defeated by 5 votes. A day or two after I got to the house a reconsideration was moved which we carried by one majority, but on the main question being put, we lost it by one.

Father Anderson is a descendant of James W. Anderson.

The next I voted for was Col. Jenifer's⁴ for which all the Montgomery delegation present voted (Davis being absent). This was the same as Fiery's except that it gave one additional delegate to each of the nine small counties, which had 2 each in Fiery's bill, our county amongst the number. Grason's bill, which passed today, only gave 2 to our county, thus losing us half our weight in the house of delegates.

Each of the three bills I voted for gave Balto. City 10, and our two Whig delegates voted with me for the 10 to Balto. in Jenifer's bill, so we are even on that score; but they have the advantage of me in not voting to reduce us to 2. I thought, upon considering all things, it was the best we could do. The house of delegates will be reduced from 82 to 74, so we have retrenched by saving the pay of 8 members. 2 members is enough to do the business of our county, and no one could question it, and with the little we will leave them to do, less than 74 would answer.

I know attempts will be made to injure my popularity for my vote, and they will be at work before I get home . . .

His closest friend at the Convention was Henry E. Wright, delegate from Queen Anne's County. Eight months after the Convention, James wrote Wright that having thought of announcing his candidacy for the position of clerk of the Montgomery County Circuit Court, he had made "a short canvas which terminated in a tour of observation around the county; and in which I found that having a Whig nominee and two Democratic candidates and one independent Whig, the result promised little to me and I retired in disgust."⁵ With bitterness, he went on to observe that "my vote on the representation had been used to prejudice me; and men of my party, if not directly joining in the clamor, took no pains to arrest it . . . That one vote cost me the best office in the county."

At the Convention itself, James played only a minor role. The Whig president, James Chapman, placed him on the judiciary committee,⁶ but he did nothing in the ensuing months to distinguish himself, a circumstance which disappointed Mary, who wrote at the beginning of 1851: "I hope, my dear, you will at last occupy a position which should have been yours years ago, for you now begin to see men and measures in their true balance, and to know that one must not wait for others to push *them* forward."⁷ James himself had enough self-insight to realize that he was not an aggressive person by nature; when his eldest son visited him in Annapolis in the spring, he described him as being "pretty much like me, to want someone to give him a start."⁸

He did, though, take an evident satisfaction in making the acquaintance of men of comparative power, as illustrated by the following anecdote regarding a jest shared with President Chapman:

When I came down into the hall, I met my old friend, President Chapman who, enquiring about my cold, advised me to drink plenty of cold water and to bathe in cold water; he said he was in the habit of bathing every day in cold water. I told him I had seen it advised, in a letter written from Worcester County and published in the Baltimore Argus of the 3rd, that there should be a committee to wash him every morning in the Severn River, that by an external application there might be a purification of the inner man. He said, looking at his very neat self, that he did not think he wanted any washing, that he thought himself clean . . . So you see how I can joke with the high dignitaries.⁹

Until its final month, the convention was a slow-moving affair which lasted

longer than James anticipated. "[I suppose] our session will continue ten weeks," he optimistically wrote Mary soon after his arrival, "[but] in all probability [it will] last several weeks more."¹⁰ Because of party discord between Whigs and Democrats, and sectional differences between the southern and Eastern Shore counties, and Baltimore City and the more populous western counties, it took over a week simply to organize the Convention after the delegates arrived,¹¹ and more than once lack of a quorum prevented the transaction of business.¹²

James chaffed under the boredom of the initial delays: "We were about ten days, as I suppose you know, in making a president of the convention . . . The members of the committees have not yet been appointed . . . We have been living a very idle life, doing little but eating and sleeping."¹³ Even by December 2, 1850—nearly a month after his arrival—he remarked: "I have had little to do, as we have not entered on the hard work of the session as yet, but we may expect to commence soon."¹⁴

Although work did begin before Christmas, the pace after the holidays was such that James wished "I had stayed with you [at home], as we have not done one earthly thing that I could not have considered as well out of this house as in it. There is not a full attendance yet."¹⁵ He consequently had plenty of time to keep up with the current newspapers and periodicals: "I take the *Intelligencer* 3 times a week, the *Alexandria Gazette* 3 times a week, and the *Home Journal* weekly, and the *Baltimore Sun* every day."¹⁶ When he had finished with them, he sent them to the family at Vallombrosa.

A cause of some small excitement occurred around this same time early in 1851 when two members of the Convention became victims of a pickpocket in the Senate Chamber itself: "Two delegates had their pockets picked on Monday in the crowd in the Senate Chamber, Mr. Hopewell¹⁷ . . . of 80\$; and another of a trifle of 3\$."¹⁸

James' opinion of the speeches at the Convention was not high, and it was during some of them that he also wrote his letters home. At the beginning of February he complained that "the orators are daily deafening us with their harangues . . . [They] have been talking all around me ever since I began [writing the letter] about the biennials, against which I voted yesterday."¹⁹

And yet, in something of a spirit of contrariness, he also criticized the official reporter,²⁰ who tended to summarize speeches rather than give them in full. Thus, later in February, he wrote:

I have a shower of reports of debates to scatter over the county, and the trouble is greater than the profit. I think I shall send a good part of them to the ladies. I think they can spread them better than the men. They are poor affairs as reported and printed; the reporter writing most of them himself, having to give the substance instead of the speech at length.²¹

Initially the hours of the Convention's daily sessions were short, from 11 a.m. until 3 p.m.²² By mid-January, however, James wrote: "We meet now at 10 instead of 11." The pace of this 10 to 3 schedule would hardly seem strenuous, even allowing for committee work; but he commented that after the 3 p.m. adjournment, "little time is allowed in the day for anything."²³ When April came, there was more justification for feeling over-burdened: "We meet at 9 in the

morning, just giving me time after breakfast to shave, dress, etc. and sit until past 3. We tried the evening sessions only once and it was a complete failure.”²⁴

Like most of the delegates, James lived in a boarding house. “We are in very comfortable quarters, at Mrs. Holland’s, where are a number of respectable members.”²⁵ There were twenty-five boarders, “two doctors among them,”²⁶ and also several women whom James found “not very fashionable but clever enough in their plain way.”²⁷

The cost of boarding at Mrs. Holland’s was a dollar a day. On February 7, he noted that he owed “for my board since the 2nd of Janaury, at \$1 per day, \$41 to this time.”²⁸ The price was probably reasonable by the standards of the time, especially in view of James’ eating a “great quantity of meat and oysters.”²⁹ But his salary was only \$4 a day,³⁰ so the total cost of room and board amounted to a fourth of his income.

In contrast to a number of other members of the Convention who were wealthy,³¹ James was not a man of means. He owned several slaves, but his comparatively small farm provided only a modest income—some of the produce was sold at the market in Georgetown. By 1851, moreover, there were already seven children, ranging in age from twenty to a baby not yet a year old at the beginning of the session. When he sent home \$43 early in December, he remarked to Mary: “I only regret the limited means. If I had millions, you know well that it would all be yours.”³²

On a still more wistful note, he complained to her later the following spring of the shabby state of his clothing, in addition to the small size of the sums sent home:

My great regret in writing is that I have so little to send you. My coat on the inner part of the sleeves is rather soiled and the lining is torn at the edge of the skirt; I ought to have a new one. Almost every member has a black coat, for black is the only wear for dress. I must get a pair of boots; this pair, the only ones I have, are too thin soled, which is the cause of a good deal of my sickness. In wet weather I always put on my gum shoes.³³

Then, as if feeling remiss at so many complaints concerning his own needs, he added a few words farther on: “If you don’t get a dress for yourself, I won’t get a thing for myself.”

Mary denied any need for clothing on her own part, but she was not unwilling to spend what could be spared for the children’s, even to the point of modest luxuries. The oldest daughter, also named Mary (ca. 1833–1910), when invited to a cousin’s wedding, planned to wear an outfit which cost the equivalent of three days of James’ salary: “Mary seems to hope she may get an invitation to Mary Ann’s wedding in order to display her new bonnet and dress, both of which she has, very handsome; her bonnet cost five dollars, her dress about seven. She now wants a sack to make a complete suit.”³⁴

Most of the money James sent home, however, went toward more mundane disbursements. “I have gone to considerable expenditures in repairing the waggon, ploughs, and other implements on the farm,” Mary wrote in mid-April, “so that the boys might go on swimmingly with their work if the weather would permit.”³⁵ The two eldest sons, James (1831–1920) and Thomas (1835–1900), were both old

enough to help with the spring planting of the major crops: wheat, corn, potatoes, and oats, along with the garden vegetables like peas.

James too, despite the need to economize, spent what he could on books for the family; anything of an educational nature was considered important: "I bought yesterday Shakespeare in one vol., Plutarch in one vol., and Arabian Nights in one vol., all for \$5. These with Hume and Gibbon [which he had purchased earlier] will find reading for you all for some time."³⁶ But he would not spend \$1.25 for a pair of white gloves, although without them he felt he could not dance at the February assembly.³⁷

James' descriptions of the assemblies and of other social and recreational activities in which he participated at Annapolis are among the most interesting aspects of the letters.³⁸ Until January there were few formal social functions, but he did socialize in a quiet way with the other boarders. One day as a diversion he went with several of them to be weighed: "A company of our boarders walked down yesterday to a store to be weighed; one weighed 304, another 298, another 245; one 185, and I weighed 184—about as much as I ever weighed. If our pork should weigh as well this winter, we should be well provided."³⁹ The dangers of an overweight condition apparently went unperceived by the men of James' time.

Shortly before the weighing excursion, he spoke of several visits to the Naval Academy. His account of the first provides a revealing glimpse into the training of naval cadets in the mid-nineteenth century:

I have been two or three times to the naval establishment here, where there are about 70 boys, all from the West; our state and most of the Atlantic states have their quota. The first time I went was with Capt. Wharton, last Friday, just a week ago, when he introduced me to Capt. Stribling, the superintendent of the naval school.

They seem quite active and sprightly, but are closely confined to their studies and have but little time for play. They are allowed to leave the grounds but once in two weeks, and then a portion of them at a time. They were going through the small sword exercises or the art of fencing. The captain, who is of South Carolina, said he was anxious to get his son in, but could not for want of residence in S.C. From the strict discipline he maintains, the boys are brought up very correctly and are much more regular than they used to be here.⁴⁰

While not precisely a social event, the presence of many ladies at the inauguration of Governor Enoch Lowe on January 6, 1851, gave the occasion a decidedly social tone, as James made clear in a letter dated two days later:

The Senate Chamber was very crowded on Monday to witness the inauguration of the Governor. Gen. Chapman, our president, led the way, and Col. Jenifer and myself followed and got the part as near as anyone to the chair occupied by the Governor, where not a word was lost.

Quite an array of beauty was before and around me and seemed to strike our president very forcibly, as he spoke admiringly of it. I told him I had no doubt Charles County [Chapman's] could produce a greater [array of beauty] than any there; if not, I knew Montgomery could. While I am writing I looked behind me in the lobby, and see at about 3 steps distance a lady who occupied a seat on Monday just behind me

and is considered here the great beauty. I can look unmoved at what they call beauty here,

he concluded, in a chivalrous allusion to Mary.⁴¹

Mary goodhumoredly wrote back the next day: "I feel a little jealous of that beauty who took her seat behind you on two occasions. Let me know her name, and if she does attempt to get so near you another time, I shall have my suspicions, that's all."⁴²

The first major social event involving James as an individual took place soon after the inauguration when he and Henry Wright were invited to dine with the Governor and his family:

Yesterday morning he [Daniel Biser]⁴³ told us that the Gov. wished us to take a family dinner with him; accordingly at 3½ we went to the Executive Chamber . . . We had a very pleasant dinner party. I took with his X-L-N-C a cup of what he called apple toddy, but which tasted more like a cordial. It is made in quantity and will keep any length of time. I asked him for the recipe, which I may perhaps get some day. I had the honor, upon the supposition of my being the senior member present,⁴⁴ of conducting to the dinner table the mother of our host.

I took two small glasses of some mild wine and we soon after retired to the drawing room, where we had some talk, and after a while the Gov., myself, and a visitor retired to another room to take a smoke, where were produced two pipes, 2 feet long, one for the Gov. and one for me, and we had a friendly smoke together. We afterwards returned to the ladies, who gave us piano, singing, etc., and Mr. Wright, a favorite song of his called "The Heathen Mythology." Time passed pleasantly—all was free and easy—nothing upon stilts and no cold ceremony. The ladies were Mrs. Lowe Senior, Mrs. Lowe junior, Mrs. Gasiter, a sister of the Gov.'s lady, and Miss Williams—all of the eastern shore except the old lady.

Wright, although personally not previously acquainted with the ladies, yet by his general acquaintance on that shore, seemed perfectly free and easy, and makes fair weather with them. He has the means now of improving his acquaintance . . . He is as little for running after people as I am. He says he can put me in such a position there that nothing can harm me from any quarter. Not that I entertain any apprehension of an attempt of the kind, but it is well to have the confidence of the governor of the state. You must not say anything about this, for you know it is not my habit to do anything to subject me to the suspicion of courting the great, which I disdain now and at all times.

For all his protestations about not "courting the great," James was plainly flattered by the invitation to dine at the Governor's, though many other delegates probably received similar invitations.

It was also the practice of Governor Lowe to invite delegates to pass an evening with him, several at a time. James' turn came in the middle of January:

The Gov. is going through with the members, some 3 or 4 spending the evening with him daily. Wright seems to think he and I were highly favored, being, if not the first, in the very first line; and we two being among the most backward in courting the great. This, however, may be one of those freaks that may produce no fruits. I have been so long accustomed to disappointment and neglect . . . that I count very little upon things that most people run after. But . . . I know no reason why I should be

behind my fellows in any laudable pursuit, whether it be to gratify ambition or provide for those most dear to me on earth.⁴⁵

Attending services at St. Anne's Episcopal Church provided another form of social contact. "I have been to church both Sundays since I came here," James informed Mary soon after his arrival in Annapolis. "Our church is a tolerably large one and fairly well filled. Mr. Nelson is rector. Capt. Crabb invited me into his pew the first Sunday. The next Sunday I sat in one of the pews appropriated to public characters. The Rev. Mr. Humphreys preached—the president of St. Johns College."⁴⁶

A benefit for St. Anne's in the latter part of January proved to be a social occasion of sizable dimensions, with various expensive prizes on which delegates were expected to buy chances. James won nothing, but was happy to be invited to share in the "demolition" of a pyramid of sugared grapes a few evenings later at the executive mansion. He provided Mary with a description of both events:

On Wednesday last, having received a card to attend the fair held by the ladies of this place for the benefit of St. Anne's Church, I repaired to the Assembly room, and found myself dazzled and overpowered by a display of beauty and fashion and an arrangement of all sorts of articles usual on such occasions. I took a chance for a fine dressing and writing case for ladies, inlaid with mother of pearl new at 40\$, the chances being 1\$ each, so there were 40 chances. I had not even the pleasure of drawing, one on the list before me having won it before my turn came.

That fortunate man was Bowie Davis, who won a large pound cake and various other articles. I found him yesterday morning writing to his wife giving an account of the fine presents he had for her and the children, which he read over to me with much complacency. How I envied him the agreeable task! *He* is one of fortune's favorites, and *I* am not, that's all.

My friend Wright came into the room while I was there and took a chance for himself and one for the lady who accompanied him, being a cousin of the Gov.'s lady and at present a visitor at the Gov.'s. They both had the pleasure of drawing for the box and both missed it. They were, however, more fortunate in drawing for a beautiful pyramid of grapes, the separate grapes being cemented by a composition consisting of sugar and some sort of glue or gum. She drew for him and won it, and it was placed at her disposal, and I was honored by an invitation to assist in its demolition at the executive mansion, where we two accordingly repaired last evening early and remained until half past 11. We found the Gov. and lady and 2 other ladies and 4 gentlemen.

The master of the house soon left for official business, leaving us, he said, in charge of the ladies, as he considered our visit to them. A number of gentlemen came in and out during our sitting. All seemed very pleasant, nothing of the air of greatness, but all republican ease and simplicity; when it ceases to be so, you know where I shall be. In fact, I feel just as easy as in my neighbor's house. I believe I stand as well there as most folk. Don't say anything about it, however, as it might alarm the small fry.⁴⁷

In February the assemblies began, large evening receptions to which delegates could invite guests from among their county constituents. There were at least two assemblies. James sent cards of invitation to a number of friends in the Rockville area, but they were for the most part country people like himself, for whom a formal reception attended at considerable cost would have had little attraction. James, however, though suffering from a persistent cold, decided to go, both to sample the food and to broaden his range of acquaintances.

I feel curious to see their arrangements etc. and may possibly taste their oysters and terrapin. There is a separate room for the gentlemen who wish to amuse themselves apart from the ladies. I have some little desire to extend my acquaintance, if it can be done in any prospect of pleasure or advantage to myself.⁴⁸

When the first assembly was held on February 6, he accordingly went, but initially gave only a sparse description because of preoccupation at not having heard from home in ten days.

I attended the assembly held last night, at which were present a number of our members and other distinguished gentlemen; a number of ladies also attended, most of whom spent the time in dancing. A fine supper was prepared, of which I partook. I enjoyed it little because of my uneasiness about you at home, which has rendered me unfit for anything."⁴⁹

A week later, however, having heard from home that all was going well, he provided a fuller account both of the assembly and of a chance meeting the following morning with the Governor's wife outside the Convention Chamber:

I think I told you some days ago that I attended the assembly on the 6th. I had been out of my room but a few days and thought I ought to have the worth of my money. I have been so long out of the gay world that I have forgot my manners; for would you believe it, I declined a hint from the most influential friend of the Gov. who is now attorney general, to dance with his lady, and I was too unwell to engage in the enterprise. I ought to have had an introduction to her, at least.

Another member of our Convention invited me to go and talk to his daughter, who was rather sitting apart, which I also declined. So you see what an ass I am. The latter was James Kent,⁵⁰ a fine, goodhearted monster of near about 300 avoirdupois. I must attend the next to repair some of my blunders, though I was sorry to have found that the Gov.'s family would on that night attend a party in Washington. I had a few words of conversation and a shake-hands in the lobby yesterday with Mrs. Lowe and Miss Williams, and carried a letter for the latter the whole length of our hall to Mr. Wright, my particular friend.

You know how cheap I hold these little things, for I value things generally at what *ought* to be their worth; but observing politicians and grave statesmen have centuries ago come to the conclusion that even small trifles sometimes control the greatest affairs; a lad's manners often shape his fortune was one of my earliest copies when I commenced the art of penmanship, and though no longer a lad, I may yet not be too old to profit by the lesson.⁵¹

The final assembly was held on February 18. James enjoyed himself thoroughly, though the following day he felt the effects of the late hours and the alcoholic refreshments. He starts the letter by apologizing for not answering immediately the "shower of epistles" he had received by the last mail:

My excuse for not answering them by this mail . . . [is that] I attended the assembly last night, and left it at 3 this morning. There were enough to dance without me, so I contented myself with playing a few games of cards and drinking divers glasses of champagne and divers other liquids, and eating a small portion of terrapin.

I waked up at nine and found my breakfast on a table at my bedside, and despatched it and then got up, dressed, and went down and found the officer of the house in search of me. I feel a little the worse for wear. I enjoyed the pleasure it

seemed to give the dancing people, among whom we had Gov., ex-Governors, ex-congressmen, convention men, atty general, and would-be officers of all sorts.

This ends the series of parties for the winter and they won't get me in a scrape of the kind again. Nobody from our county attended, so my invitations were of no avail. I was the only representative of the county there.⁵²

After the assemblies ended, there was a series of Friday night levees at the Governor's—smaller, more informal gatherings which continued until Lent. On February 21, James wrote: "Tonight the levee of the Gov. takes place. It is understood to be every Friday in the week if the weather is not too bad. I may walk down."⁵³ By March 14 they had ended, and James foresaw no further social gatherings of an official nature until Easter. "The levees at the Executive Mansion have [been] suspended during Lent. I hear of no parties for the ladies." Continuing with playful malice, he observed that "they generally visit the house while the Convention is sitting; it is a very good place to show themselves."⁵⁴

Apart from the official social functions, James led a relatively quiet evening life: "I have joined in no frolicks at night and have no taste for it."⁵⁵ Other delegates, though, were heavy drinkers who did not always confine their imbibing to the evening hours. Early in the session James gave an amusing decription of

One gentleman [who] was pretty high one day last week and spoke rather warmly, and went to sleep for 2 or 3 hours while some important votes were taking; they could not wake him. He started up once and said he voted for Chapman, who had been elected some days before. The say he is a son of temperance and that it was ladanum; some suspect it was brandy.⁵⁶

From the tongue-in-cheek tone, it would appear that James was among those who suspected brandy rather than laudanum. James himself, although dismissed from Princeton after two years for frequenting taverns,⁵⁷ seems to have had no particular problem with alcoholism; on the other hand, while at Annapolis, he did attend one of the meetings of the sons of temperance: "I was at the meeting of the sons of temperance last night at their hall, and heard two of our members give short addresses containing nothing very new or striking."⁵⁸

In his boarding house life, quiet as it was, there were occasional spontaneous diversions which James could enjoy, such as a "singing match."

Last night I was in the room with the females of our boarding house with several of our members, and we had a singing match of old times in which I joined and pitched the tunes with a very indifferent flute and joined in the singing for the first time for 20 years, with the exception of one similar bout with Aunt Polly some years ago.⁵⁹

James liked music, and found satisfaction in the hymns when he went to the Sunday services at St. Anne's. On one occasion in the spring, a familar hymn brought back such powerful recollections of home that he was unable to pay attention to the bishop's confirmation sermon. Mary had enclosed some hyacinths in a letter from Vallombrosa; although they did indeed remind him of home, he wrote:

Home and all its delightful associations were more vividly brought to me by hearing in church yesterday the hymn beginning "I would not live always," played on the

organ and played to that sweet tune, I think, the first time I ever heard it in our church.

The bishop held a confirmation yesterday when seven persons—4 females and 3 males—received that rite. I was so overpowered by the recollections that the hymn awakened in me that I scarcely heard a word of the sermon. The whole service, particularly the chanting, was beautifully performed.⁶⁰

From time to time amusements were available in the way of performances of one kind or another. On February 21, James noted that

last night a man named Theophilus Fisk had a show with experiments on magnetism applied to some person who agreed to be the subject. They say he can have such influence at the time over the person as to make him act as he chose to direct. Some believe and some do not. I looked upon it as humbug and did not go, but preferred to visit my friend McMahon, and we went and took oysters and a glass of hot punch.⁶¹

Though he had a low opinion of Theophilus Fisk, James knew of the esteem in which Jenny Lind was held, and would like to have heard one of her performances. He suggested to Mary that she meet him in Washington on his way home for the Christmas recess, and that they go together: "A number of the members have been in to Baltimore to hear her, and seemed to think they had the worth of their money. They paid about 5\$. I suppose I shall have to pay in Washington from 3 to 5. Unless you go, I shall care but little to go myself."⁶²

Most likely from motives of economy rather than her avowed indifference, Mary refused: "As for my meeting you in Washington, I think that will be impossible . . . [and] as for hearing Jenny Lind, I would not walk to the spring to hear her."⁶³

James might have played a more active role both socially and in the business of the convention had he enjoyed better health during the session. But for much of the winter he suffered from the effects of a cold which, perhaps unfairly, he attributed to having allowed Mary to wash his hair while he was home for Christmas. After returning to Annapolis on January 1 through Washington ("it being New Year's Day, a vast throng were wending their way to the White House to pay their respects to the President"⁶⁴), he wrote home the next day to say that his cold was troublesome, "but it is chiefly a cold in the head, I expect owing to the washing you gave it."⁶⁵

By the middle of January he felt "relieved of the graver symptoms of my disease, but my lungs are yet a good deal oppressed and my cough is troublesome. I have flax seed syrup and a stick of candy now before me, which is quite good for the purpose."⁶⁶

There are no references in the February letters to feeling seriously ill, but then in early March James had a recurrence of his ailments after another visit home. This recurrence caused him to miss time from the Convention Chamber:

I write these few lines in bed, but in a day or two expect to send you a long letter. I did injury to myself to venture out last week in the damp weather; the consequence is that I have suffered so much with pain in my side that I was bled this morning, and in my right arm, so can't write easily.⁶⁷

Still in bed two days later, he was bled again. In addition, he had

two of the hottest kinds of sinapisms [mustard plasters] applied to my side. I have one of a milder kind now on me. I am taking a solution of tartar hourly, 1/4 of a gram to the dose. My doctor says that cupping and blistering must be resorted to if the soreness remains."⁶⁸

His physician was a fellow delegate, Dr. S. P. Dickinson of Talbot County, who did eventually resort to blistering. He was, wrote James, "very attentive to me, and prescribes and has dressed my blister every time. He has nearly dried [it] up and I expect to put a greased patch on it tomorrow. I have so far escaped cupping."⁶⁹

During his sickness he tried to keep to a vegetarian diet, but there were lapses:

I have a general offer of anything that would please my palate, but content myself with tea and crackers, roast potatoes, and apples; animal food I deny myself as it seems to increase or bring on the symptoms of cold. On the day my last letter was written (Friday), a plate of fine oysters tempted me so much that I ate them all with crackers and with no benefit to my health.⁷⁰

While confined to bed, he used his hand trunk as a kind of portable writing desk on his lap.⁷¹ Another fellow delegate, Elias Ware of Baltimore City, brought him the copies of Hume and Gibbon⁷² which he later sent home, and Wright lent him the *Decameron*⁷³ which, with the newspapers and periodicals, helped him to pass the daytime hours. In the evening Wright and other friends came to visit: "Wright spends most of his time in the room, and we often have 4, 5, and sometimes 8 or 10 visitors of an evening. Last night after bedtime, I laughed so hard that I almost brought back the soreness in my side."⁷⁴ With so many cheerful visitors, it would seem that his sickness was by no mean a period of unrelieved suffering. The lack of a quorum on several days, too, meant that he was not missing as much as might have been the case had the members been more conscientious in their attendance. "I have not lost much by not attending the Convention, as there was [no] quorum for two days, and the rest was spent pretty much in idle talk."⁷⁵

The soreness in his side, however, was succeeded by

a most severe pain in my left shoulder, so that I cannot raise my arm and can scarce use it. I would now be sitting up dressed if I could put my coat on. I had it rubbed last night with linament, and have some pepper and whiskey prepared to rub it with until it is relieved.⁷⁶

(In James' time, whiskey had its external as well as its internal uses.) But his inability to leave his room became increasingly irksome as the representation question came more and more under consideration:

This confinement is very annoying to me, especially when the great question of representation is on the tapis [literally rug, but floor is meant]. They took a vote on it on Friday and our friends lost it by a few votes . . . Some of them called last Friday and were for carrying me up to the house nolens volens [whether I wanted to go or not], but I could not and cannot yet put my coat on, nor change the dirty night shirt I have had on for two weeks.⁷⁷

Finally, by March 27, he was able to write home that "as I am now for the first time for two months or upwards entirely relieved from the severe cold that had fastened upon me, I feel as if I would like to take some part in the active business of the convention."⁷⁸ Within another three weeks he had regained the weight lost during his illness: "I . . . weighed a few days ago 188—one pound less than the heaviest I weighed since my return after Xmas. I expect to go to 200 when you next see me, which is your standard of perfection."⁷⁹

With her husband back to normal health, Mary again voiced her wish that James might still distinguish himself at the Convention: "You are now about again, and . . . I hope you may yet do something in the Convention of which we may be proud."⁸⁰ But it was not a hope that would be realized.

The spring weather and James' recovery allowed him to make some various excursions, like an evening's walk with the child of Edward Shriver, delegate from Frederick County, and three other little girls, to gather pebbles along the shore of the Severn:

Wright and myself walked out yesterday evening in charge of Shriver's little daughter—a mischievous little baggage aged 11—and 3 other little misses, none I think over 9, passing by the old Carroll house (which I have often visited as a venerable piece of antiquity), and spent an hour on the banks of the Severn, our river here, occupied principally in gathering pebbles for the young misses, they themselves being very occupied in the same way; and they seemed much pleased with their acquisitions, although there was nothing very rare or beautiful in the collection. They were to have a party in the evening, where I suppose they enjoyed themselves very much. This is my first evening with the children here, and was quite an agreeable variety.⁸¹

He was also able to enjoy some of the more elaborate fresh-air diversions which his position as a delegate made possible. Toward the end of April he described a sailing excursion on a small government schooner called the *Rainbow*, "a fine little craft 33 feet long and 11 feet broad." He had been invited by William Weber, one of the Allegany County delegates. "A good seaman" named Leslie was at the helm.⁸²

We left the wharf at a little past 4 and sailed 13 or 14 miles, some distance out into the bay, off Kent Island, with a gentle breeze, sometimes slackening so as to scarcely move the flag; yet the sails so admirably managed by our skillful and experienced Polinurus [Aeneas' steersman] that they were kept filled and we went on our way as gently as a sleigh would pass through the snow. We landed on our return at the wharf at the naval school, a little after sunset, all highly delighted with the trip. It was, indeed, a charming ride, and was shared in by some 7 or 8 members of the Convention.⁸³

The evening after the sailing excursion James, along with Henry Wright and Mr. Weber, walked to the home of seaman Leslie, who entertained them with tales of his foreign travels:

Wright, Weber, and myself walked down to Mr. Leslie's house about 9 last night and stayed about an hour or a little more. He is employed at the naval school; on account of his good character and capacity, he superintends the work going on there, and it is becoming a beautiful place. He entertained us very politely and gave us some of his yarns, for although a young man, not much over 30, he has been round the world. He

has a collection of various curiosities which he shewed us, and we passed the hour very pleasantly. The conversation turned on our trip of the previous day, and it was stated that Mr. Brent thought his boat could best ours, which Leslie, our admiral, by no means believes, and promises, although now very busy, to try the speed of the two boats shortly when I expect again to take passage in the *Rainbow*. I wish you could have been with us.⁸⁴

Much to James' annoyance, the race between the *Rainbow* and the yacht of the Baltimore City delegate, albeit arranged for May 8th, had to be called off—"prevented by one of those odious evening sessions, which instead of saving time, for which they are intended, it takes much of the morning to undo . . ."⁸⁵

Spring also turned James' thoughts to what was happening at home in the way of planting. By mid-March he told Mary: "You must sow early garden seeds, and I wish you could find that tobacco seed and harvest some. I put some tomatoes over the door for Ned⁸⁶ and don't know that any others were saved."⁸⁷ By the end of the month he urged that she plant "a good crop of potatoes and put some guano on them."⁸⁸

Mary, for her part, kept James well informed as to the progress of crops and garden. Early in April she wrote: "I have been in the garden all day planting raspberries and such work as the wet ground will admit of being done . . . We have promise of an abundant fruit crop. The apricot, pear, and peach trees are very full of bloom."⁸⁹ On April 15th, she told him of buying from an itinerant salesman a machine for watering the garden in dry weather: "There called here a few days ago a man selling small engines. Knowing your great desire to possess one for the purpose of watering your garden, I purchased one and have it here, a present for you. I will not tell you the cost."⁹⁰

By the end of April she was in a position to give a relatively comprehensive picture of what had been done up to that point:

We have sown fifty-one bushels of oats and shall have planted upwards of an acre of potatoes by tomorrow evening. The peas are about a foot high, looking very pretty. Parsnips, carrots, beets, salsify, and some beans are planted. I fear I shall not be able to commence planting corn before Monday next, and then we shall have a rather tedious time for I intend putting guano in every hill. After finishing the corn, I wish to plant another acre of potatoes.⁹¹

Mary found herself so incessantly occupied with both indoor and outdoor chores that, though unwell herself at times with toothache and chronic headaches, she was "too busy to be sick. The constant and hard exercise will, I have no doubt, benefit me. If I were rid of these bad teeth, I am certain my health would be better. I had toothache and headache on Saturday, which prevented me from writing to both you and mother."⁹²

In the same letter she described her activities with bees:

We hired a very fine swarm of bees on the 26th. We took them in a flour barrel. Tom Poole urged me to get a patent hive which he said would save me all further trouble. I was strongly tempted to get one, and do not know what I may do the next swarm. The price is eight dollars . . .⁹³

Ten days later James wrote expressing approval of the idea of a patented hive,

but, rather unkindly, criticized Mary for buying the garden-watering machine: "I wish we had had a beehive years ago; it would have yielded good interest . . . It would have been more useful than the engine, the rain has been so plentiful of late."⁹⁴

Living within twenty miles of the port of Georgetown and the Potomac River, fish were an important staple in the family's diet, especially in the spring. With shad running abundantly by early May, Mary sent a slave to purchase a supply. She also hoped for herring,⁹⁵ but was disappointed:

Will went to Georgetown on Saturday but got no herring. He brought me a barrel of flour and fifty shad. We all enjoyed the fresh shad very much. As to getting rock or sturgeon, I have no one that would or could attend to it for me . . . I must try again for herring, for I do not know how I can do without them.⁹⁶

While Mary was busy with the garden, the oldest son, James junior, returned from a teaching job and was again in search of work.⁹⁷ As Mary knew only too well, there was not money enough for a university education: "What a pity we have not the means of gratifying him in the choice of a profession."⁹⁸ It was decided to send him to Annapolis where, through the connections made by his father during the session, a new form of employment might be found, perhaps with the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. "He can make the acquaintance of some of the members here," James wrote, "which will be no disadvantage to him. I am personally acquainted with every member of the Convention, and stand very well, I believe, with a good many of them."⁹⁹

Arrangements were duly made, and the younger James arrived at Annapolis during one of the evening sessions so detested by his father:

On Monday evening last, whilst the Convention was in session, the second and I hope the last time it will be attempted to have evening sessions, as it took up most of the next day to undo what had been done in the evening, James came into the lobby. He came from Washington in company with Col. Leonard of our county and [they] have taken a room at our house . . . I introduced him to some members the first night and next morning, and went to the library and introduced him to the librarian and gave him the free range there to read and write.¹⁰⁰

Also on the next day, James presented him to Governor Lowe and arranged for him to join a tour of the steeple:

In company with Leonard we went into the Executive Chamber and introduced him to the Governor; and in 5 minutes afterwards, Dr. Higgins came in with some ladies, and after presenting them to his X.L.N.C., got the key to the entrance into the steeple of this building; and I advised they should accompany the party, which they did at nearly 12 o'clock yesterday and were, no doubt, highly gratified at the fine view to be had there.¹⁰¹

Young James was regarded as a handsome man. "Magraw¹⁰² says James' mother must be a pretty woman which, you may be sure, commanded my assent. They all, in fact, consider him a pretty goodlooking fellow."¹⁰³

But the visit, which lasted about a week, produced no results in the way of a job, partly because of the hectic atmosphere which prevailed in the closing stages

of the Convention. "You ought to have sent him here sooner," James wrote, "as we are so engaged at the heel of the session, boys have no chance;"¹⁰⁴ in terms, that is, of holding any of the delegates in meaningful conversations about job prospects. But James senior did try, as shown in his account of a conversation with Louis McLane, an influential delegate from Cecil County:

I sat by Mr. McLane yesterday morning with a view to get his opinions on the subject of railroad life; you know he was for years the president of the Baltimore Railroad Company, besides having filled the place of minister to England, senator in Congress, Secretary of the Treasury and of State. So you may suppose he must be a wise man. He enquired if James had a particular inclination to such pursuit, and I informed him that he had devoted himself to those studies which qualified him for that line. He thinks that there is no better provision for a youth.¹⁰⁵

But the reality of the situation, as James went on to point out, was that McLane "had only once recommended while he was president the appointment of [some]one," and moreover, "this officer is a Whig, and the chance is, as you know, rather bad."¹⁰⁶

The Convention adjourned on May 13, and the letter of May 9 in which James described his conversation with McLane was the last he wrote to Mary from Annapolis. He was already thinking of his return to Montgomery County, and said in a half-joking tone:

Dress your hair prettily and try to look nice, for all the girls here are very particular and I am so long used to seeing these things, carelessness or dowdiness would shock my delicate sensibilities. I shave every morning and put [on] a clean shirt 3 times a week, and get brushed, and try to look as nice as I can, and hope to keep it up when I get home, with your help.¹⁰⁷

Because he did not yet realize the damage his vote on the representation issue had caused in terms of his future political activity in the county, he could speak in an almost benign manner of the outcome of the Convention, and warmly of the friendships formed over the preceding six months:

We have settled all the great questions and have made a pretty good constitution so far and might leave it as it is, but the Whig leaders who find that their power will be gone are agitating and striving by every means to undo what we have done, and we may expect hot work today or tomorrow. We have all got along very harmoniously and peaceably so far, and hope we may all part good friends. We have been together longer than generally falls to the lot of public men in one state, and have had opportunities of forming friendships which will benefit us all hereafter. I have no doubt each member here will feel personally friendly to every other, and I feel that [it] is something to me that I shall be advantageously reported of in other counties of the state, and I could go into no county without meeting friends [and] acquaintances.¹⁰⁸

His wife, however, had warned him early the preceding month that his vote might have caused adverse repercussions:

Mary [the eldest daughter] came home from a visit of some days to Rockville. She says the folks there are loudly exclaiming against the number of delegates being cut

down and say, your brother Tom among the number, that you have ruined yourself if you voted for it, for no man can be anything in the county again who voted for it.”¹⁰⁹

James was skeptical about the damage. A few days after receiving Mary's letter, he replied, referring to his co-delegate from Montgomery County:

Brewer just got here this morning and he thinks there is no such great dissatisfaction at our vote as is talked of. If it is so, I don't know what to think of the reformers of our county. I did exactly as I told them . . . I meant to do, and it is right as I yet think. I don't look upon it as a scramble for sweetmeats among children, each trying to get the largest share, right or wrong. Two delegates are enough for us.¹¹⁰

He had also received an encouraging letter from a Rockville lawyer, William Veirs Bouic, expressing approval of his viewpoint:

I believe you are right in your views of this question, and whether our county gains or loses representation by applying a correct principle, let the correct principle govern. If by adopting and applying the correct rule to ascertain our true weight in the legislature, it be found we have too much as it now exists, as a county it would be as wrong for us to hold to it as it would be for us as partners in trade to hand back an amount more than our just share of the property which we might have received at some former settlement.¹¹¹

But Bouic went on in the same letter to warn that he should be prepared for a backlash:

You must be prepared for an attack at all hours from rabid Whigs here, office seekers, and their retainers, and barkers of every grade. And (I blush to own it) by some in our own party governed by similar motives . . . I believe I have said enough to convince you that your vote on this question meets my approbation; and as far as in me lies, I will defend you against all who attack your position. And I will add that your course has been in strict accordance with your pledges to the people from every stand in the county.

Mary's fears and Bouic's warnings proved well founded, and from May, 1851, until February, 1854, James had no public employment. When he did finally obtain another position, it was as an auditor in the Sixth District of the U.S. Post Office in Washington, a lower-echelon federal job which he held until his dismissal for refusing to sign the loyalty oath at the beginning of the Civil War.¹¹²

The only advancement James could really claim from the time at Annapolis was his promotion by Governor Lowe to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel in the state militia. It came about in an accidental manner two weeks after his arrival. While he was reading a newspaper in the Executive Chamber,

the Governor soon came in and I shook hands with him and apologized for taking possession of his department. He replied that I was welcome to anything there. I said that I believed he now had nothing to give except perhaps some military commissions; that I had been appointed adjutant upwards of 20 years ago and that I was not in the line of promotion; he said I was, and that he could give me a commission, and turned to his books and found two vacancies in our regiment, a lieutenant colonel and major . . . Yesterday morning the page handed me at my desk a large envelope enclosing the

said commission endorsed in the name of the Adjutant General [and] directed to Lieutenant Colonel James W. Anderson, and I have been addressed by many of my associates by that illustrious title. What think you of my new honors?¹¹³

Mary reported the children's reaction to their father's newly-acquired title: "The children seem pleased and amused to hear of your honors. They wanted to know if it was profitable. Richard¹¹⁴ says you look so military that he thought you would be promoted in that line."¹¹⁵ But the honor was essentially a paper one, and not "profitable" in the sense of a material gain which James could well have used.

While Mary was of a stronger and more decisive nature than James, they were deeply devoted to each other, a circumstance which is apparent throughout the letters. Writing to him from Vallombrosa one cold evening in January, she drew to a close by saying: "I feel as though I should like to have you with me tonight in my pleasant room. A good fire, which I have, and a good husband, which I have not with me, are two very good things."¹¹⁶

A few days later, after his customary salutation of "my dearest wife," James continued in a vein similar to Mary's:

I must use this old fashioned mode of addressing you for want of a better. All my letters are meant for love letters, for I feel as much like writing them now as I did before you were mine by warrant of holy church, for you know you were mine as much before as after that solemnity. Even you, with all your professions of love, don't know how unhappy I am from you and how much I want to see you.¹¹⁷

In lines like these, the sincerity is unmistakable.

On a lighter note but one marked by the same sincerity, he declared on February 17: "I must have been dreaming about your ice house last night, for I slept cold, and always do on cool nights although we have a fire and plenty of coal; but you are absolutely necessary to keep me warm."¹¹⁸

James wrote many of his letters from the Convention Chamber itself, but especially toward the end of the session, it was too noisy there for his taste: "I have a greater difficulty in writing this than any I have attempted, there is such a continued chatter and noise. The locusts which you expect this month, if this room were filled with them, could not make much more."¹¹⁹ His preferred spot for letter-writing—he had hoped to write "by every mail,"¹²⁰ but illness and other factors made him fall far short of this goal—was the library, "my favorite place for writing, where there are three small desks with pen, ink, paper, etc. always lying on them."¹²¹

Mary, for her part, with the care of seven children and the management of the farm, had a far busier daily schedule. As a result, she could not find the time to write as often as James wished. ("It is now just eight days since I left you, and not one word yet,"¹²² he noted disapprovingly after the Christmas recess.) When she did write, it was usually late at night, often in a state of near exhaustion. Excusing herself for what James took to be a harsh tone in a previous letter, she explained in the next:

I thought, however tired, I must write you a few lines, and accordingly went upstairs a few minutes after eleven to commence my epistle, leaving the baby asleep below.

About the time I was fairly seated, the babe cried. I called to Mary to go to her, and found that both she and Jinny had slipped off to bed without rendering any assistance in bringing up baby, bed, or anything else; and by the time I got all up and the child asleep, it was near twelve. So these little annoyances, together with an irritable temper, must be my apology for scolding you, if indeed I did scold; for I assure you I had no intention of saying anything unpleasant to you.¹²³

One gathers from letter like this that James' long sojourn at Annapolis was far more of a burden to Mary than to her husband.

James did not visit home often during the six-month session. Besides the Christmas vacation, he travelled to Rockville on only one other occasion, for a two-week visit in February.¹²⁴ Already by early December he said that "most of the members have visited their homes, but . . . it struck me as most prudent, under the circumstances, to incur as little expense as possible."¹²⁵ Again one is reminded that, in comparison with many of his fellow delegates at the Convention, James was a relatively poor man. With a hint of envy, he remarked during the winter that "everybody here goes home when he pleases, and I have as much right to go as anyone."¹²⁶ With such frequent home visiting among the delegates, it is little wonder that business was sometimes delayed for lack of a quorum.

When James went home for Christmas, his longest visit, it was a lengthy journey by way of train and stagecoach. Because of a seven-hour layover in Washington, the trip, begun before dawn, did not end until after nightfall:

The cars leave here before day, at 5½ o'clock, so when I start for home, I shall get to Washington about 8 in the morning, and will then have till three in the evening to take the omnibus which gets to Rockville in the night, so that you will have to send down for me."¹²⁷

Once he had arrived home in May for good, the family rejoiced to see him. A week beforehand, when he was expected daily, Mary's father, Colonel George Minor, who had come from his home in Fairfax County for a visit,¹²⁸ played a trick which Mary told of in her next-to-last letter. "We all want to see you. Yesterday Father walked into the dining room and exclaimed aloud: 'God! Here's Anderson!' We all flew to the windows, when he walked leisurely in, with your daguerrotype in his hand."¹²⁹

The Constitution drawn up by the delegates at the Convention was submitted to Maryland voters on June 4, 1851, less than a month after James' return to Vallombrosa. Although it was ratified by a majority of 10,409 votes on a state-wide basis, Montgomery County voted against its adoption.¹³⁰ It may have been at this point that James realized the damage his vote on the question of representation had in fact done him.

In his December, 1851 letter to Henry Wright, he spoke in sour terms of James G. Herring,¹³¹ the man who that autumn was elected clerk of the Montgomery County Circuit Court—the position James had coveted—as

a dapper self-important chattering little body who had no possible qualifications for the place and was elected by the Whigs and Methodists . . . I am now entirely out of public employment and hardly know how to dispose of myself. I have a mind to open an office and do business for nothing, according to my custom . . .¹³²

The next three years must have been difficult ones financially, until he finally obtained, in February of 1854, a post office job in the Sixth Auditor's Office in Washington. But on the other hand, if he had been elected to the court clerkship in 1851, he would have lived at home and there would have been no further need for letters between him and Mary. As it was, by working for six years in the capital, he and Mary and the children were again in a position to exchange frequent letters, several hundred of which have survived to provide an illuminating view of rural and city life in mid-nineteenth century America.¹³³

REFERENCES

1. Brewer was a Democrat too. The other three were Whigs. The Convention had a total of 103 members: 55 Whigs and 48 Democrats. James Warner Harry, *The Maryland Constitution of 1851*, Johns Hopkins University Studies in History and Political Science, Series XX, Nos. 7-8 (Baltimore, 1902), p. 36.
2. James to Mary, April 4, 1851.
3. Louis P. Fiery, delegate from Washington County.
4. Daniel Jenifer, delegate from Charles County.
5. The letter is dated December 29, 1851, but was apparently never sent.
6. James to Mary, November 27, 1850.
7. Mary to James, January 16, 1851.
8. James to Mary, May 5, 1851.
9. *Ibid*, January 10, 1851.
10. *Ibid*, November 22, 1850.
11. Harry, *Maryland Constitution*, p. 36.
12. *Ibid*, p. 66.
13. James to Mary, November 22, 1850.
14. *Ibid*, December 2, 1850.
15. *Ibid*, January 6, 1851.
16. *Ibid*, January 8, 1851.
17. J. R. Hopewell, delegate from St. Mary's County.
18. James to Mary, January 8, 1851.
19. *Ibid*, February 14, 1851. The biennial question revolved around whether future sessions of the General Assembly should meet annually or every two years. Before 1846, sessions were annual; but in an 1846 referendum, biennial sessions were voted for. In the 1850-51 Convention, an amendment was proposed providing a return to annual sessions. The Convention finally voted to held sessions annually for three years; thereafter sessions of the legislature were to be biennial. Harry, op. cit., p. 50.
20. The reporter was a Mr. Wheeler. He is referred to in a letter to James from the Convention Secretary, G. G. Brewer, dated September 23, 1851.
21. James to Mary, February 21, 1851.
22. *Ibid*, January 6, 1851.
23. *Ibid*, February 21, 1851.
24. *Ibid*, April 16, 1851.
25. *Ibid*, November 9, 1850.
26. *Ibid*, November 22, 1850.
27. *Ibid*, May 7, 1851.
28. *Ibid*, February 7, 1851.
29. *Ibid*, November 11, 1850.
30. *Ibid*, February 17, 1851.
31. Robert J. Brent, a delegate from Baltimore City, brought his private yacht with him to Annapolis. James to Mary, May 9, 1851.
32. *Ibid*, December 2, 1850.
33. *Ibid*, April 14, 1851.
34. Mary to James, January 16, 1851.
35. *Ibid*, April 15, 1851.
36. James to Mary, May 9, 1851.
37. *Ibid*, February 17, 1851.
38. There are over 70 Convention letters in all, including those written to James by friends and acquaintances.

39. James to Mary, November 27, 1850.
40. *Ibid*, November 22, 1850. According to the Assistant Archivist at the U.S. Naval Academy, Cornelius K. Stibbling went to the Academy in the rank of Commander and became a captain during his tour of duty there. In 1862 he was advanced to the rank of Rear Admiral. He died in 1880. There is no mention in the Academy's records of anyone by the name of Wharton, nor in the *General Register of the United States Navy and Marine Corps, 1782-1882*. The Assistant Archivist, Mrs. Jane Price, suggested in her letter to me of July 7, 1980 that Wharton may have been a Captain in the Army.
41. James to Mary, January 8, 1851.
42. Mary to James, January 9, 1851.
43. Daniel Biser was a delegate from Frederick County. He was known at the Convention as the "Father of Reform." Harry, *Maryland Constitution*, p. 29.
44. James (1797-1881) was in his early fifties at the time. This letter to Mary is dated January 10, 1851.
45. James to Mary, January 15, 1851.
46. *Ibid*, November 22, 1850. James' youngest child, George Minor Anderson (1857-1927), would attend St. John's in the 1870's.
47. *Ibid*, January 18, 1851.
48. *Ibid*, February 5, 1851.
49. *Ibid*, February 7, 1851.
50. James Kent was a delegate from Anne Arundel County.
51. James to Mary, February 14, 1851.
52. *Ibid*, February 19, 1851.
53. *Ibid*, February 21, 1851.
54. *Ibid*, March 14, 1851.
55. *Ibid*, February 14, 1851.
56. *Ibid*, November 22, 1850.
57. According to college records, James was expelled from Princeton in 1815.
58. James to Mary, December 11, 1850.
59. *Ibid*, April 14, 1851.
60. *Ibid*.
61. *Ibid*, February 21, 1851.
62. *Ibid*, December 11, 1850. James also spoke of the matter December 2.
63. Mary to James, December 8, 1850.
64. James to Mary, January 2, 1851.
65. *Ibid*.
66. *Ibid*, January 15, 1851.
67. *Ibid*, March 10, 1851.
68. *Ibid*, March 12, 1851.
69. *Ibid*, March 17, 1851.
70. *Ibid*.
71. *Ibid*.
72. *Ibid*, March 14, 1851.
73. *Ibid*.
74. *Ibid*, March 17, 1851.
75. *Ibid*, March 19, 1851.
76. *Ibid*.
77. *Ibid*, March 24, 1851.
78. *Ibid*, March 27, 1851.
79. *Ibid*, April 14, 1851.
80. Mary to James, March 30, 1851.
81. James to Mary, April 25, 1851.
82. *Ibid*, April 23, 1851.
83. *Ibid*, April 25, 1851.
84. *Ibid*. According to the Naval Academy's Assistant Archivist, Mrs. Price, there was a Henry P. Leslie at the Academy in the 1850-51 period who was a carpenter.
85. James to Mary, May 9, 1851.
86. Edward Anderson, the fourth oldest son (1841-1917). He later studied medicine at the University of Maryland's medical school in Baltimore and practiced in Rockville.
87. James to Mary, March 14, 1851.
88. *Ibid*, March 27, 1851. Guano, a fertilizer of seabird droppings imported from Peru, was introduced into Montgomery County in the 1840's by the Quakers of Sandy Spring. Much of the farmland in the county had been exhausted by the continuous planting of tobacco. At the county's

centennial celebration in 1876, James' second oldest son, Thomas Anderson, gave a long address on the history of Montgomery County which included remarks on the introduction of guano as the source of the revitalization of the farmland. The address was printed as part of the proceedings in a booklet entitled *Centennial Celebration of the Erection of Montgomery County into a Separate Municipality* (Baltimore, 1877), pp. 11-19.

89. Mary to James, April 10, 1851.
90. *Ibid*, April 15, 1851.
91. *Ibid*, April 28, 1851.
92. *Ibid*.
93. *Ibid*.
94. James to Mary, May 7, 1851.
95. Herring in James and Mary's time were still plentiful in the Chesapeake Bay.
96. Mary to James, May 6, 1851.
97. The younger James attended the Rockville Academy, taught there for a time, and later in the 1850's was elected county surveyor. During the Civil War he was a captain in the 35th Battalion of Virginia Cavalry. For his letters while a prisoner of the Union forces, see George M. Anderson, "Nine Letters from a Captured Confederate Officer," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 76 (Spring 1981), pp. 62-70.
98. Mary to James, April 6, 1851.
99. James to Mary, April 14, 1851.
100. *Ibid*, April 30, 1851. Colonel John A. Leonard lived near Poolesville. During the Civil War he was accused of harboring rebels. Ray Eldon Hiebert and Richard K. MacMaster, *A Grateful Remembrance: the Story of Montgomery County* (Rockville, 1976), p. 177.
101. James to Mary, April 14, 1851.
102. Samuel L. Magraw was a delegate from Harford County.
103. James to Mary, April 30, 1851.
104. *Ibid*, May 9, 1851.
105. *Ibid*.
106. *Ibid*. James' efforts to find a railroad job for his son did not end with the Convention. David Stewart, a Baltimore City delegate, wrote him on June 29, 1851, saying he had written to Benjamin H. Latrobe on young James' behalf. Latrobe, son of the Benjamin Latrobe who designed the U.S. Capitol and the old Baltimore cathedral, was an engineer with the B & O Railroad at the time. In writing to James Sr. of his unsuccessful efforts, Stewart included Latrobe's letter, which in part read: "The testimonials of the young gentleman (Mr. Jas. Anderson) whom you recommend for an appointment in the B & O RRd service are strong, and it would give me great pleasure to gratify your wishes and those of the eminent citizens who have united in presenting him as a candidate. At the present stage of the work, however, in which assistants now in the service are being every month discharged as the line advances to completion, there is, I am obliged to say, but slender prospects of a plan for a new applicant; and I fear that with my best wishes to give Mr. Anderson an appointment, it will hardly be in my power to do so. I am very truly yours, Benj. H. Latrobe." Latrobe's letter is dated June 28, 1851.
107. James to Mary, May 9, 1851.
108. *Ibid*.
109. Mary to James, April 6, 1851.
110. James to Mary, April 11, 1851.
111. William Veirs Bouic to James Anderson, April 3, 1851. Bouic was a Rockville lawyer with whom James' son, Thomas, later went into partnership. A direct descendant of Bouic, also a lawyer, still lives in Rockville today.
112. Mary was a Virginian by birth and James a southern sympathizer, so his refusal to sign the loyalty oath was almost inevitable.
113. James to Mary, November 27, 1850.
114. Richard (1837-1855) was the third oldest son. He died in his teens while James was later working in Washington.
115. Mary to James, December 1, 1850.
116. *Ibid*, January 9, 1851.
117. James to Mary, February 14, 1851.
118. *Ibid*, February 17, 1851. A local handyman known as "old Clark" was building an ice house on the farm at this time.
119. James to Mary, May 5, 1851.
120. *Ibid*, February 17, 1851.

121. *Ibid*, April 16, 1851.
122. *Ibid*, January 8, 1851.
123. Mary to James, March 30, 1851. The baby's name was Lily (1850-68). Jinny (ca. 1834-1912) was the second oldest daughter.
124. James to Mary, February 21, 1851.
125. *Ibid*, December 12, 1850.
126. *Ibid*, February 7, 1851.
127. *Ibid*, December 2, 1850.
128. Colonel Minor was 80 years old at this time. Mary mentions his age to James in her letter of March 30, 1851.
129. Mary to James, May 6, 1851.
130. Harry, *Maryland Constitution*, p. 68.
131. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), vol. I, p. 664.
132. James to Henry Wright, December 29, 1851.
133. For an account of these letters, see George M. Anderson, "An Early Commuter: The Letters of James and Mary Anderson," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 75 (Fall 1980), pp. 217-232.

Samuel Chase's "Objections to the Federal Government"

JAMES A. HAW

MANY CONTEMPORARIES AND MOST HISTORIANS HAVE ASCRIBED SAMUEL Chase's Antifederalism primarily or exclusively to motives of self-interest. Philip A. Crowl concluded that the Maryland leader's opposition to the Constitution "can probably be explained by the heavy personal financial reverses he was experiencing at this time." Lacking the means to finance his heavy speculations in confiscated British property, Chase by 1785 faced the prospect of bankruptcy. His plight caused him to lead an unsuccessful movement for paper money and debt relief in the Maryland legislature from 1785 into 1787. The Constitution, by prohibiting state issues of paper money, would foreclose his dimming prospects of recovery.¹

Other historians have generally accepted this thesis, in substance if not always in detail,² and indeed Chase's personal problems and his experience in the paper money contest were important factors in determining his stand on the Constitution. It is not true, though, as has recently been suggested, that "Chase never did undertake a thorough critique of the Constitution," and the view that his "real objections were personal, not philosophical"³ needs qualification. Both personal interest and political philosophy led Samuel Chase to Antifederalism.

Chase's analysis of the Constitution was set forth in greatest detail in his "Objections to the Federal Government." Apparently a set of notes for a speech during the ratification campaign, this document was designed to impress a deliberative body rather than to sway a popular audience. Chase made two speeches against the Constitution that would fit the description, one in the Maryland House of Delegates in November 1787 and the other at the state ratifying convention on April 24, 1788.⁴ Because the sources cited in the document appeared as late as March 1788, Chase's notes could only have been meant for the latter occasion.

Chase's "Objections" reveals that he was well acquainted with the debate over the Constitution beyond as well as within his home state. His arguments parallel those of many other Antifederalists, shedding light not only on his own views but also on the nature of Antifederalism in general.

Beyond the typical Antifederal belief that republicanism could exist only in a small state and the consequent preference for a league of sovereign states, Chase

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placed particular emphasis on three arguments. First, Congress consisted of so few representatives that the interests of the "middling sort" would not truly be represented. "The station is too high and elevated to be filled but by the *first men* in the state in point of fortune and influence." The Constitution thus paved the way for aristocratic domination of the new government.

This argument paralleled Chase's charge during the paper money controversy that an irresponsible aristocracy of wealth and power, entrenched in the state Senate, had denied the majority's call for an emission and disregarded the general welfare to protect their own financial interests. After the Senate defeated paper money, Chase in 1788 was more wary of placing too much power in the hands of an elite than at most other periods of his life. His perception that the Constitution was designed to secure the election to national office of society's wealthy and prominent "natural" leaders was shared by many other Antifederalists—and, as Gordon S. Wood has argued, by Federalists as well.⁵ While Chase advocated the political leadership of a natural aristocracy open to talent, he also insisted throughout his career that that leadership must ultimately be responsible to their constituents and must act for the public good. Essentially conservative in his political philosophy, Chase turned apparent radical on those occasions when he believed that the governing elite was acting selfishly or irresponsibly.⁶ Coming on the heels of the paper money controversy, Chase's cry of "aristocratic danger" against the Constitution reflected one side of his consistent political philosophy as well as immediate self-interest.

If in fact an aristocracy of wealth and status would dominate the central government with no more than a nominal representation of the "middling sort," it followed in Chase's view that liberty was in danger. His second major objection to the Constitution was that the national government would "annihilate the State Governments," particularly by making use of its virtually unlimited power of taxation to monopolize the sources of revenue. Third, Chase insisted that the Constitution did not protect individual rights and civil liberties, and undermined the ability of the states to do so.

Chase's "Objections to the Federal Government" suffers from the fact that it is a series of rough notes rather than a polished document intended for publication. Nevertheless, in content if not in form, it deserves to be ranked with the more impressive pieces of Antifederalist analysis.

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Samuel Chase Esq.

Objections to the Federal Government.

Papers. 1. As to characters of Convention.

2. As to no government if new are not adopted. See Oswald Independent Gazetteer Nov. 14. Brutus Junr.⁷

3. Trial by Jury. Democratic Federalist.⁸

4. Bill of Rights. Old Whig 4 and 5.⁹
5. Trial by Jury. Columbian Patriot.¹⁰
6. Objections answered by Aratus.¹¹

Authority of Delegates to Convention.

1. Act of appointment.

No authority from legislature to annihilate Confederation and form a constitution for the United States. Legislature could not grant such power. Deputies acted as mere individuals and not in official or delegated capacity. Express object of delegates to revise confederacy.

Act done—a general or national government is formed—the separate sovereignty and independence of each state, and their union by a confederate league is destroyed and they are melted down and consolidated into one national government. In confederation—We the States—in proposed constitution—We the people—the first is a true federal government of states and has no power over the individual citizens of any of the states—the latter a national one by express compact of all the people; it establishes a supreme power over the individuals of the states. It annuls the confederacy. See Art. 13.¹²

It swallows up the state governments and states legislatures—it alters our constitution and annuls our Bill of Rights in many of its most essential parts—How justify this Convention on the principles of Aristides—people no right to interfere, etc. Aristides p. 9. Amendment in parliamentary language means striking out the whole. Convention has only advised—and so might an individual.¹³ Wilson—Convention did not act upon the powers given them by the States but they proceeded upon original principles. Independent Gazetteer, 29. Nov.¹⁴

McKean.—State convention no right to inquire into power of late convention, or to alter or amend their work. Sole question whether to ratify or reject the whole system.¹⁵ Could convention lessen the rights of the people? their right to lessen never surrendered to convention. People must have a right to judge of the government proposed. No man can controvert the right of proposing amendments. Whether proper and necessary the only question. Aristides 30.¹⁶

1st. Question. Whether a federal or national government proper for America. S. C. [i.e., Samuel Chase]¹⁷ for the former. Because an extensive country (like United States) on democratical principles only by a confederation of small republics exercising all the powers of internal government, but united by league as to their external foreign concerns.—A national or general government however constructed over so extensive a country as America must end in despotism.—If instituted on principles of freedom, not competent to the local wants and concerns of the remote parts of the empire. Montesquieu vol. i. ch. 16. Brutus No. 1. Cato No. 3.¹⁸

2nd Question—If national whether the one proposed ought to be ratified without any previous amendments. 1. The question is the most important that ever came before an assembly for decision. It involves the happiness or misery of millions yet unborn. The decision requires all the consideration that the utmost exertion of the powers of the mind can bestow.

The present and future generations will bless or execrate us. We [are] at a solemn crisis—and the magnitude of the subject requires that it should be deliberately considered and fully considered with temper and moderation.—

1. People will not choose representatives.

2. Congress to alter place!

Senate—never heard of the resolve of Senate. Resolves of Senate adopted before those of House of Delegates. 3d Wednesday of January—Election. 1st Monday in March—proposed an earlier day of meeting.¹⁹

Representation.

1. A fact—the continent will be governed by 65. Six northern states—35—seven southern states—30.

2. I do not object that the states have not an equal representation in the second branch or House of Representatives.

3. I object because the representatives will not be the representatives of the people at large but really of a few rich men in each state.

A representative should be the image of those he represents. He should know their sentiments and their wants and desires—he should possess their feelings—he should be governed by their interests with which his own should be inseparably connected. The representatives of so extensive a country—consequently such numbers should be numerous.—A few men cannot possibly represent the opinions, wishes and interests of great numbers. It is impossible for a few men to be acquainted with the sentiments and interests of the United States, which contains many different classes or orders of people—Merchants, farmers, planters, mechanics and gentry or wealthy men. To form a proper and true representation each order ought to have an opportunity of choosing from each a person as their representative; this is impossible from the smallness of the number—65. Can six men be found in Maryland who understand the interests of the several orders of men in this state and are acquainted with their situation, wants and would act with a proper sense and zeal to promote their prosperity. If such could be found will they be chosen by the people? No—but few of the merchants and those only of the opulent and ambitious will stand any chance. The great body of farmers and planters cannot expect any of their order—the station is too elevated for them to aspire to—the distance between the people and their representatives will be so very great that there is no probability of a farmer or planter being chosen.—Mechanics of every branch will be excluded by a general voice from a seat—only the gentry, the rich and well born will be elected. Wealth creates power—the wealthy always have a number of dependants—they always favor each other—it is their interest to combine and they will consequently always unite their efforts to procure those of their own order or rank to be elected and they will generally succeed. The station is too high and elevated to be filled but by the first men in the state in point of fortune and influence. In fact no order or class of the people will be represented in the House of Representatives—called the Democratic branch—but the rich and wealthy. They will be ignorant of the sentiments of the middling [and much more of the lower] class of citizens, strangers to their ability, unacquainted with their wants, difficulties and distress and need of sympathy and fellow feeling.

4. The numbers are too few. It is to consist at first of 65—and cannot exceed 1 for 30,000 inhabitants—whites and 3/5 slaves—a majority, a quorum 33—ergo 17 may make a law—liable to bribery and corruption. G.B. and F. [i.e. Great Britain and France] will endeavor to obtain an influence to procure treaties of

commerce, and alliances offensive and defensive—they will practice the means—Holland is a proof.

This objection applies to the Senate—at first 26—14 a majority 8 may make a law—liable to same bribery and corruption. Madness to vest 25 men with absolute power—no free people ever reposed power in so small a number. The Executive will corrupt them—they are not excluded from office.

The last House of Commons above 500 members. Number of inhabitants about 8 millions—1 for little above 14,000—The members in the Democratic branches in 13 States amount to 2,000. The numbers should be too great to be corrupted and not so great as to be a mob.

5. The House of Representatives will not be chosen by the people. Art. 1. Sect. 2.²⁰

Maryland is to choose 6 representatives—every person qualified to elect members of our House of Delegates is to be entitled to vote. Our legislature is to prescribe the time, place and manner of electing representatives. Art. 1. Sect. 4. Aristides 9. Either the people at large of the whole state must choose the six representatives, or the state must be divided into six Districts for each to elect one man.²¹—Say 2 on Eastern and 4 on Western Shore.

If the whole people choose they will meet in their counties on the same day; this is proposed by some—consider such an election.

If in districts the inconvenience—and the last who vote will elect—and choice like as if all chose. Suppose our delegates chosen in this manner. On the whole I am convinced, 1st That the representatives will be merely nominal from the persons and the numbers elected; 2nd That the right of electing is nugatory and cannot be effectually exercised—it is only a fallacious participation by the people at large in the national legislature.

6. There is no security even for this nugatory right.

7. I have said the Senate are too few in number.

8. The Senate are a perpetual body and never die a civil death (as in this State) although 1/3 is to be chosen every second year, because after the first six years there will always be 2/3 of the body in existence—1/3 of which 2/3 will always have served 2 years; and the other 1/3 will have served 4 years and after the first rotation every Senator may serve six years. The body is permanent—will act by system—1/3 at end of every second year may be different men if legislature pleases.

9. In classing, the Senator who pleases will not be put in the class to go out before six years. Vide Boston Debates. 73.²²

[The following sentence at the head of one of the papers is struck out;—I have long since determined that I would not accept a seat in convention unless gentlemen whose political principles I approved would offer their services to the people.]. I am a friend to our present state government because it is wisely calculated to secure all the civil and religious rights of the people and fully adequate for all internal state purposes, and our state constitution and laws afford security to property and ample protection to the poor from abuse by the officers of our state government and from any oppression of the poor by the rich and powerful. There is no injury for which our present laws do not provide a remedy.—There are some few, and not very capital, defects in our form of government

and they may at any time be amended with prudence and sense without any division or commotion—in a word; We might be happy under our present state government, if we knew our own good, and would be contented. I am opposed—averse from the proposed national government, because it immediately takes away the power from our state legislature to protect the personal liberty of the citizen, and I am convinced in my judgment that it will in a few years entirely absorb and swallow up the state legislature.

Our Bill of Rights which is part of our constitution provides—Sec. 2. That the people of this state ought to have the sole and exclusive right of regulating the internal government and police thereof.

Sect. 3. That the inhabitants are entitled to the Trial by Jury according to the course of common law, not only in criminal cases but in all cases between government and its officers—cause etc.

Sect. 17. Every freeman for any injury to person or property ought to have remedy by the law of the land.

Sect 18. Trial of facts where they arise is one of the greatest securities of the lives, liberties and estate of the people.

Sect. 23. All warrants without oath to search, etc.

Sect. 13. Laying taxes by the poll is grievous and oppressive and ought to be abolished.

Sect. 25. Militia proper and natural defence of a free government.

Sect. 26. Standing armies.—27.—28. No soldier to be quartered in any house in time of peace without the consent of the owner, and time of war in such manner only as the legislature shall direct.

Sect. 38. The liberty of the press ought to be inviolably preserved.

Section 33. Securing religious rights of conscience.

By our present form of government, the legislature is not supreme but bound by the constitution.²³

The National Government will in its operation and effects annihilate the State Governments.

1. National Government has unlimited power, legislative, executive and judicial, as to every object to which it extends by the Constitution.
2. The powers of the National legislature extend to every case of the least consequence—it may make laws to affect the lives, liberty and property of every citizen in America, nor can the Constitution of any State prevent the Execution of any power given to the National legislature.
3. The National legislature may impose every species of taxes external and internal (except only on exports) excises, land tax, poll tax, stamps etc. to any extent, and may raise and collect them as they please, without any previous requisition to the state legislatures who have nothing to say to the laws for imposing or collecting taxes.
4. The power to impose and collect taxes is the most important of all powers a people can grant—it absorbs all other powers. Maxim—Money finds Men (Troops) and Troops will find money—The power of taxation is the highest object of legislation—it is the necessary means of protection and safety to the people in a good government and it ever has been and will be the instrument of oppression and tyranny in a bad government.

5. No state can emit paper money—nor without consent of Congress lay any duties on Imports or Exports or Tonnage except for executing its inspection laws, and in such cases the net produce is for the use of the United States—Therefore no state can pay its debts—or support its government but only by direct taxes on property—Congress can lay all indirect taxes, and also direct taxes when they exercise this power in all its extent. The state legislatures will find it impossible to raise money by direct taxes to pay their debts and support their governments—the consequence is certain—without money they will be as Congress is now; without power, or respect and despised. They will sink to nothing, and be absorbed in the general government. The people will not bear the expense of two governments. The state governments may come in for some time to carry into execution the National Government—even this may be taken away. Art. 1. Sect. 4. See Aristides 37. Impost 38. Farmer's Letters 9. p. 37.²⁴ Will impost pay interest of national foreign and domestic debt and expenses of new government?
6. The power of the national legislature to raise troops in peace (as well as war) without any limitation as to number, or with consent of more than a majority in Congress (I say not less than 9 of 13 and in same proportion) or a majority of the state legislatures and to levy money for their support for two years—to control the militia will also [?tend] to swallow up the state governments.
7. The supreme and inferior federal courts will have the same effect by absorbing the state courts—One must be in each state.
8. The power to make laws [Art. 1. Sect. 8.]—e.g. The state lays a direct tax to pay its debts or to support its government. Congress thinks proper to lay tax on same property and as both cannot be paid cannot Congress repeal the state law, or will not their judges declare it void. Will not this conduct deprive the state of all support?
9. [8. repeated in orig.] The little power reserved to the states will be an object of jealousy to Congress. The whole constitution breathes a jealousy of the states—its judges and juries. Truth confirmed by experience of ages that every individual, and all bodies of men invested with power, always attempt to increase it, and never part with any of it but by force. It is the very nature of Man. The national government will possess this desire and having the means it will in time carry it into execution. I think the people themselves will assess and may be persuaded to call for the abolition of the state governments. It is at this moment the wish of many men in America and some in this state.

Liberty of Conscience—Old Whig No. 5–4. Brutus No. 2.²⁵

Bill or Declaration of Rights.

Liberty of Press.

1. The constitution gives no power to Congress *express* or *implied* to abridge or take away the liberty of the press.
2. Art. 1. Sect. 8. Congress have power to promote Science and it is impossible to promote Science and at same time destroy the liberty of the press—under this clause may write what they please about government. There is no Bill or Declaration of rights to restrain Congress. They will have the power and it remains in their discretion when they will exercise it.

Expenses of National government.

Civil List—President—vice-president—Senators—Representatives. Ambassa-

dors—Judicial Department—Judges, Justices, ?Chancellor, Clerks, Sheriffs, Excise officers—naval officers—Locusts—Policy to institute a number of lucrative new offices to increase their influence in the States—Army will provide for many expectants.

I am opposed to the new government.—

1. Because it gives Congress a power without any limitation to lay any kind of taxes that the invention of Man can suggest—indirect and direct. I particularly object to the power to lay taxes on our lands without any limitation and according to our numbers including $\frac{3}{5}$ of our slaves. Also to an Excise and the power to excise officers to enter and search and no remedy by such in state courts—and verdict by a Jury; as under the British government. Clayton's Rep. 44. Woman's shift.²⁶ Also to a poll tax which Congress is expressly authorized—Art. 1. Sect. 9.—to lay on all our whites and $\frac{3}{5}$ of our slaves—the most fatal and oppressive of all taxes. N. B. A favorite tax with Congress and R. M. [i.e. Robt. Morris]
2. Because Congress will have a right to keep an army in time of peace without number.
3. Because Congress will have a right to quarter soldiers in our private houses, not only in time of war, but also in time of peace. Bill of Rights 28.²⁷
4. Because Congress will have authority over our Militia, and may if they please, march any of them without regard to scruples of conscience against bearing arms, to any part of the United States.
5. Because the inferior federal courts will have the exclusive jurisdiction—Art. 3. Sect. 2. of every controversy between the citizens of the different states—and no trial by Jury. Blackstone 3. c. 33.²⁸
6. Because these courts will have the same jurisdiction in controversies between our citizens and subjects of Great Britain or any other foreign state—Tobacco shipped. N. B. an appeal in both cases.
7. Because the Senators or Representatives may be appointed to civil offices under the United States not created or the emoluments increased during the time for which he was elected.
8. Because Congress are to ascertain their own salaries. Art. 1. Sect. 6.
9. Because the Senate are too few in number—only two from each state. 26 at present—a majority, a quorum. 14—ergo 8 may make a law—liable to corruption—[?by] France, Great Britain.
10. Because the Senate are a perpetual body and never die a civil death, although $\frac{1}{3}$ is to be chosen every second year—because after first six years there will always be $\frac{2}{3}$ of the body in existence— $\frac{1}{3}$ of which $\frac{2}{3}$ will always have served two years and other four years and after first rotation every senator may serve 6 years.
11. Because $\frac{2}{3}$ of the Senate present and the president may make treaties of commerce, and the treaties are to be the supreme laws of the land.
12. Because the Representatives are too few in number—1 for 30,000—whites and $\frac{3}{5}$ slaves—65 at present—a majority, a quorum 33.—ergo 17 may make a law—liable to corruption.
13. The House of Representatives will not be chosen by the people. Art. 1. Sect. 2.

Maryland is to choose 6 representatives—Every person qualified to elect

members to our House of Delegates to be entitled to vote—our legislature is to prescribe the time, place and manner of electing representatives. Art. 1. Sect. 4.—Either the people at large of the whole state must choose the six representatives—or the state must be divided into six districts—say 2 on Eastern and 4 on Western Shore.

14. Because Congress may alter the time, place and manner choosing representatives. Art. 1. Sect. 4. proceedings Boston 47.

51. (?60)²⁹

15. Because Congress may alter the time and manner of choosing Senators—the place where is not to be altered.

N. B. Treaties supreme law. Sect. 6.³⁰

See Aristides p. 11.³¹

Massachusetts propose to restrict this power to cases expressed.³²

16. Because the president will not be chosen by people immediately—that is by electors chosen by the people—as pretended. Art. 2. Sect. 2.³³ The legislature are to direct who are to be Electors, but the number is fixed to be equal to the whole number of Senators & representatives—e.g. in this state 8—in all 91. Congress are to determine the time of choosing electors and the day on which they shall elect the president which shall be the same day in all the states.

The electors are to choose by ballot two persons. The person having a majority of all the electors to be president and if no person has a majority—which is most improbable, except in first instance then from the five highest on the list the House of Representatives to choose the president—each State to have a vote.

17. Because the powers of the President are dangerous. Power of nominating to office. Of pardoning before conviction.
18. Because he is eligible for life and he ought to be ineligible after a given number of years.
19. Because the Judicial power extends to controversies between citizens of different states and between citizens of the states and subjects of foreign states and in such cases the trial by Jury is taken away.
20. It is said by the advocates for the new government that we are without a government. Ans. They mean a general or national government—not a state government. The former is wanted to make the states do their duty, and pay their quota to discharge the debt contracted during the war—and to protect the states against the powers of Europe (There is power to decide differences between the states in the Federal Congress) and to regulate trade. If admitted—yet no necessity much less wisdom to do more than is necessary to answer these objects—powers for these purposes can be given without surrendering up our liberties.
21. The new government will take the burthen from the farmer and planter, and the poor people and place it on trade—because duties on imports and tax on Excise will be adopted. Ans. Why cannot state governments do the same?—In truth it is only changing in part the mode of taxation—Explain it. Why poll tax is not for the benefit of the poor.

22. Regulations of trade and treaties of commerce will bring in money—employ our merchants—shipbuilders. Ans. if true, give those powers but not those granted.

23. The people can't be worse.

Ans. Why are they distressed?—many from their private debts—some from taxes—all from the scarcity of money. Will new government pay private debts? Will it lessen taxes? It will make our Continental debt specie—It is now at 8 for 1. £200,000 would pay the proportion of this state—it was proposed by an emission—consider the Expenses of National government.

24. The government is calculated for a few rich and ambitious men—and speculators in certificates.

25. Merchants are for it.

Ans. Consider them. Birds of passage.

26. General Washington et al. for it.

27. May amend afterwards.

Ans. The amendments proposed prove that these are capital defects.

Should amend before adoption—1. because it is easy to grant and very difficult to recall power which from its nature is ever encroaching. 2. No wise people ever gave power over their liberties with a view of getting back the power. 3. it is now the power of five states to obtain amendments—afterwards there must be nine.—4. a bad government becomes more feared every day by its officers. 5. why not another convention? Who is violent for it. Ans. Rich men and speculators and office hunters.

Call on friends to give reasons for new government. [On the margin of this paper the following;]—why call on people at large? Haste—no delay—Senate for Jany.—³⁴

The greatest happiness of a people is to govern themselves. Their greatest misery to be governed by others;—

Our state government is fully competent to all internal state purposes.

For the safety and happiness of the people of this and the other states, external objects, or such for which the state governments are not competent are to be provided for.

1. To provide a form to regulate commerce among the states and to preserve peace between the States—resort against domestic enemies, with Indian tribes, and to coin money and to regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin and to fix the standard of weights and measures—to establish post offices and post roads—may be called a general internal or continental object.

2. To preserve all the States from injury or violence from the foreign powers of Europe and to shield them against foreign hostility may be called a general external or foreign object.

3. To regulate the trade of the states with foreigners, by acts of navigation and by treaties of commerce with the powers of Europe may be also called a general external or foreign object.

I am for the establishment of power in Congress for all the above or similar purposes.

The 1st—to preserve peace between the states, etc. may be provided for

without much difficulty (and about which there never has been nor can be much difference in opinion) by establishing a supreme power to decide all controversies between the states, to coin money, etc. etc. and by a Bill of Rights declaring what the states shall not do—as, e.g. not to enter into any treaty, keep troops, coin money, or do any of the above or other acts which the supreme power of all the states are authorised to do.

The 2nd—to preserve all the states etc.—This necessarily includes the power of war;—and the means to carry it on—i.e. to raise money, to maintain troops and to provide a navy: and it includes the jurisdiction of piracies and felonies on the high seas and of all offences against the law of nations. This also includes the payment of the debt contracted by the United States.

This power is necessary, but not immediately pressing—consider the situation of confederation—but attended with some difficulty. It requires a legislative, an executive and a judicial authority.

Every legislative power should be vested in two, if not three Branches, and they ought to be the real, and not the fictitious representatives of the people. Their numbers ought to be sufficient to know the wants and the wishes of those they represent—too numerous to be corrupted and not so great as to be a mob.

The Executive of the states ought to be in a supreme magistrate or president—ineligible after a limited time with a Council of short duration and responsible for their advice.

The Judicial should be confined to the decision of cases arising on treaties. [The clause “on treaties” is substituted for—“under the constitution and laws”—erased.] The great question is in what manner the legislative [sic] of the [United]³⁵ states shall raise taxes on the people of the several states.

I would not give this power—only on default of a state to raise its quota as required. If neglected, I would authorise the legislative to lay and collect imposts and duties on tonnage without limitation, provided they be uniform in all the states; also taxes not exceeding limited sums on enumerated articles of exports, and stamp- and post office duties. If they [be] not sufficient, an excise. Provided they be the same in all the states and that Congress officers be held to account for abuse of authority in the states. and if all [be] not sufficient, a tax on land not exceeding 1/2 d. per acre.

I would [?Query? not (inserted and then struck through, apparently by Bancroft)] give the power of taxation without requisition being first made to the states. It is difficult to say what taxes the legislative may lay, but some limitation is necessary.

The Third—to regulate trade—

I am against giving this power—but if it is given let it be to 2/3 of the Senate.

[Earlier in the original ms. we find erased—“The 3d—to regulate trade etc.—This I would agree to”—the sentence being left unfinished.]

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2. Allan Nevins, *The American States during and after the Revolution, 1775-1789* (New York, 1924), p. 319; Forrest McDonald, *We the People: The Economic Origins of the Constitution* (Chicago, 1958), pp. 154-155; Jackson Turner Main, *The Antifederalists: Critics of the Constitution, 1781-1788* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1961), p. 215; Norman K. Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics, 1781-1800* (New York, 1978), p. 279. Some pertinent sources, notably Bernard C. Steiner, "Maryland's Adoption of the Federal Constitution," *American Historical Review*, V (1899-1900):22-44, 207-224, offer no interpretation of Chase's motives.
3. Risjord, *Chesapeake Politics*, pp. 278-279. Risjord qualifies his assertion with the statement that Chase "may have" made a serious analysis of the Constitution in his speech to the Maryland ratifying convention.
4. *The Maryland Gazette, or the Baltimore General Advertiser*, October 3, 1788; Alexander Contee Hanson, "To the People of Maryland," ms. address, *Documentary History of the Constitution of the United States*, (5 vols.; Washington, D. C., 1905), IV: 651.
5. Gordon S. Wood, *The Creation of the American Republic, 1776-1787* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1969), pp. 475-518.
6. For a full interpretation of Chase's political philosophy, see James Haw, Francis and Rosamond Randall Beirne, and R. Samuel Jett, *Stormy Patriot: The Life of Samuel Chase* (Baltimore, 1980).
7. *The Independent Gazetteer*; or, *The Chronicle of Freedom* (Philadelphia), November 14, 1787. Eleazar Oswald was the printer of this paper. "Brutus, Jr." refutes in this article the Federalist argument that, without the Constitution, the United States would have no government, resulting in "anarchy and confusion . . . and in the end, a government will be imposed on us" by force.
8. "A Democrat Federalist," *Baltimore Maryland Gazette*, October 26, 1787, warned of danger from the extensive judicial powers given to the central government. He claimed that "the trial of facts in civil cases by a jury of the Vicinage is entirely and effectually abolished." Without trial by jury, citizens would have no effective protection against violations of their rights by federal officers.
9. *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, October 27, November 1, 1787. The "Old Whig" essays are not numbered in the paper, but these two—the fourth and fifth in the series—urge the necessity of a bill of rights in the Constitution.
10. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1788. "Columbian Patriot" objected to the Constitution's alleged "abolition of trial by jury in civil causes" as dangerous to liberty.
11. Possibly a defense of the Constitution by "Aratus," "To the People of Maryland," ms. broadside, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, cited by Lee Lovely Verstandig, "The Emergence of the Two-Party System in Maryland 1787-1796" (Ph.D. diss., Brown University, 1970), p. 232 n. 28.
12. Article 13 of the Articles of Confederation stated that the union was perpetual and the Articles could not be amended without the consent of Congress and all the state legislatures. Worthington Chauncey Ford, ed., *Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789*, (34 vols.; Washington, D. C., 1904-1937), 9:925.
13. "Aristides" [Alexander Contee Hanson], *Remarks on the Proposed Plan of a Federal Government, Addressed to the Citizens of the United States of America, And Particularly to the People of Maryland* (Annapolis, [1788]), 9, stated that the constitutional convention did not exceed its authority. "With no other power was it invested, than is possessed by every free citizen of the states." It was called to advise the nation on the additional power needed by Congress, and has done so. It was asked to recommend amendments to the Articles of Confederation; "striking out the whole, and substituting something in its room" is one form of amendment.
- Chase points out that the constitutional convention cannot be justified under the theory of representative government advanced by Hanson during the paper money controversy. At that time, opposing Chase's claim that both houses of the legislature would be bound to obey instructions from a majority of their constituents, Hanson stated that representative government barred the people from directly exercising between elections the deliberative and legislative powers they had delegated to their representatives ("Aristides," *Maryland Gazette* (Annapolis), April 19, 1787). How, then, could Hanson say that the people could resume and give to the constitutional convention the power to rewrite the Articles of Confederation, which they had explicitly delegated to Congress and the state legislatures?
14. *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, November 29, 1787, summarizes the proceedings of the Pennsylvania ratifying convention. Chase here refers to the paper's report of James Wilson's remarks to the convention.
15. McKean's remarks to the convention; *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, November 29, 1787.
16. "Aristides" [Hanson], *Remarks on Proposed Plan*, p. 30, argues that the constitutional convention was correct in calling for a vote on the Constitution as a whole. If each state were allowed to accept some parts and reject others, only scattered sections would be ratified by nine states, resulting in a chaotic situation.

17. All passages in brackets are so contained in Bancroft's copy of the original document unless otherwise noted.
18. Charles Louis de Secondat, Baron de la Brede et de Montesquieu, *The Spirit of the Laws*, tr. by Thomas Nugent (New York, 1949; orig. publ. 1748), p. 120. The citation should be to book VIII, section 16. "Brutus, No. I," and "Cato, No. 3," *The New York Journal, and Weekly Register*, October 18, 25, 1787, both cite Montesquieu in arguing that republicanism can survive only in a small state.
19. On November 26, 1787, the Maryland Senate resolved that the election for a state ratifying convention should be held on the third Wednesday in January, 1788, and the convention should meet on the first Monday in March. The House of Delegates voted on November 27 to hold the election on the first Monday in April and the convention on April 21. The Senate on December 1 agreed to the lower house's resolution to avoid delay through argument. Cowl, *Maryland during and after Revolution*, pp. 117-118.
20. Of the U. S. Constitution. All later citations of article and section refer to the Constitution unless otherwise noted.
21. "Aristides" [Hanson], *Remarks on Proposed Plan*, p. 9. Hanson said in a footnote that the legislature would decide whether to elect Congressmen at large or by district. Hanson preferred the former.
22. Rufus King, replying in the Massachusetts ratifying convention on January 9, 1788, to Antifederalist objections that the senators' six-year terms would make them dangerously independent of their constituents, argued that the classing of senators reduced their terms to an average of four years (initially). Chase apparently answers King by arguing that senators who please (the majority of the senate?) will get the longer terms. *Debates, Resolutions and Other Proceedings of the Convention of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Convened at Boston, on the 9th of January, 1788 . . .* (Boston, 1788), p. 73.
23. The citations in this section are to the Maryland Declaration of Rights of 1776, conveniently found in *The Decisive Blow Is Struck*, introduction by Edward C. Papenfuss and Gregory A. Stiverson (Annapolis, 1977).
24. Article I, section 4 of the Constitution is not pertinent. Chase must have intended to cite Article I, section 9 or Article IV, section 4. "Aristides" [Hanson], *Remarks on Proposed Plan*, p. 37, denied that the states would be destroyed or "dwindle into something like city corporations." The impost was a proposed amendment to the Articles of Confederation that would have given Congress the power to levy an import duty, but I have not identified Chase's reference to Impost 38. John Dickinson, *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania to the Inhabitants of the British Colonies*, Letter No. IX, in Forrest McDonald, ed., *Empire and Nation* (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1962), pp. 57-58, affirmed that Parliamentary taxation would reduce the colonial assemblies to "shadows," if indeed they ever met at all. Chase believed taxation by Congress under the Constitution would have the same effect on state legislatures.
25. "Old Whig," *Philadelphia Independent Gazetteer*, October 27, November 1, 1787; "Brutus, No. 2," *New York Journal*, November 1, 1787. Both contain arguments for a bill of rights, including freedom of conscience. Chase appears to single out this right for more prominent treatment than either of his sources.
26. John Clayton, *Reports and Pleas of Assises at Yorke, Held before severall Judges in that Circuit, with Some Presidents [sic] usefull for Pleaders at the Assisses: Never englished before* (London, 1651), p. 44. Ward's Case: "Action of Battery against a Constable who had made a search in the Plaintiffs house for stolen goods by virtue of a Justices of Peace his warrant to search in all suspicious places, and upon the evidence it appeared the Defendant in the Search did pull the clothes from off a womans bed [she being] then in her bed, to search under her Smock, and this was holden to be a misdemeanor in the Constable, and all with him & did make all their proceedings in this place illegall from the beginning." This case is cited by "A Democratic Federalist," *Baltimore Maryland Gazette*, October 26, 1787; see n. 8 above.
27. Article 28 of the Maryland Declaration of Rights forbade quartering soldiers in private homes in peacetime without the owner's consent, "and in time of war, in such manner only, as the Legislature shall direct."
28. Sir William Blackstone, *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (Philadelphia, 1879; orig. publ. 1765-1769). Book III, chapter 23 discusses trial by jury. This should be the citation; there is no chapter 33.
29. *Debates, Resolutions and Proceedings of Convention of Massachusetts*. In the debates on Article I, section 4, Phanuel Bishop argued that, if Congress needed the power to alter Congressional election arrangements "in order that refractory States may be made to do their duty," the Constitution should explicitly state that Congress could act only "if any State shall refuse or neglect" to make proper arrangements (p. 47). Theophilus Parsons argued at length that the

provision as written was needed also to maintain a proper balance of power between the two houses of Congress and their respective constituents, the people and the state legislature (p. 51). At the close of the debate on this section, the reporter summarized the major Federalist arguments in favor of the provision: "first, as it may be used to correct a negligence in elections; secondly, as it will prevent the dissolution of the government by designing and refractory states; thirdly, as it will operate as a check in favour of the people, against any designs of the federal senate, and their constituents, the state legislatures, to deprive the people of their right of election; and fourthly, as it provides a remedy for the evil, should any state, by invasion, or other cause, not have it in its power to appoint a place. . . ." (p. 60).

30. Chase means Article VI of the Constitution. Why he cited the treaty clause here is not apparent, unless he feared that Congress might alter the election machinery by treaty.
31. "Aristides" [Hanson], *Remarks on Proposed Plan*, p. 11, argued that Congress's power to alter the time and manner of electing senators was not dangerous. It would be exercised only in case of invasion or if a state refused to act, and Congress needed the power to act in such cases.
32. The Massachusetts convention accompanied ratification with recommended constitutional amendments, one of which was "That Congress do not exercise the powers vested in them by the 4th section of the 1st article, but in cases when a State shall neglect or refuse to make the regulations therein mentioned, or shall make regulations subversive of the rights of the people to a free and equal representation in Congress, agreeably to the Constitution." *Debates, Resolutions and Proceedings of Convention of Massachusetts*, p. 211.
33. The reference should be to Article II, section 1.
34. See above, n. 19.
35. This is my insertion.

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RICHARD J. COX

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BOOK REVIEWS

The John Carroll Papers. Volume 1: 1755–1791. Volume 2: 1792–1806. Volume 3: 1807–1815. Edited by Thomas O'Brien Hanley. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 1976. Pp. li, 551; liv, 543; liii, 517. Illustrations, charts, notes, bibliographies, and index. \$75.00 the set.)

It should be a matter of wonder to historians that the Catholic Church in the United States, which funded the most impressive array of ecclesiastical institutions in the world, should be so laggard in providing the resources for the publication of the papers of its most significant and respected leader. In 1951, encouraged by the establishment and activities of the National Historical Publications Commission, the American Catholic Historical Association assembled the John Carroll Committee to prepare the correspondence, sermons, pastoral letters, and other writings of this remarkable churchman for publication. For eighteen years the members toiled without remuneration. When in 1969 funding was made possible by a grant from the John L. Raskob Foundation and contributions from several American cardinals, the Association replaced the committee with a full-time editor, Thomas O'Brien Hanley, a Jesuit scholar conversant with the papers of Charles Carroll of Carrollton and an authority on the religious aspects of the American Revolution, and provided him with student assistants. Perceiving "a pressing need for a comprehensive presentation of all known Carroll writings" (1:xxxii), the new editor sought to "enlarge the original program" with "manuscripts in all categories" (1:xxxiii). Eventually he accumulated a little over 1,100 pieces. A subsidy for publication was provided, fittingly, by Cardinal Lawrence J. Shehan, archbishop of Baltimore. Fittingly also, the collection was published in the Bicentennial Year.

From the moment John Carroll took upon himself the responsibility for organizing the dispirited remnant of the Catholic clergy in the Revolutionary era until new dioceses were carved from his episcopal jurisdiction in 1808, a jurisdiction whose boundaries coincided with those of the United States, he was virtual master and molder of the Catholic Church in the new nation. Until his death in 1815, in fact, Carroll's influence was dominant. As superior of the American Mission 1784–1789, bishop of Baltimore 1789–1808, and archbishop of Baltimore 1808–1815, he had no less a task than that of reconciling and harmonizing Old and New World attitudes and institutions. Adroitly he eased the Catholic Church onto the American scene while at the same time he brought it more and more into conformity with the European model. In the process he fixed the Maryland tradition inextricably into the warp and woof of American Catholicism.

Despite a growing conservatism after his consecration as bishop, Carroll remained an undeviating advocate of that freedom of religion and separation of church and state that were the by-products of Maryland's colonial past. The Catholics, Presbyterians, Methodists, Quakers, and Baptists of Maryland, he told a friend in 1785, opposed "with might and main" a tax for the support of religion in general. "We have all smarted heretofore under the lash of an established church and shall therefore [be] on our guard against every approach towards it" (1:168). At the same time Carroll exemplified a cautious whiggism that valued liberty because of its concern for property. He had little use for the "French Democrats" (2:40). His growing conservatism dissipated his inclination to tread new paths and create a church more attuned to the American scene, an inclination evidenced by his earlier promotion of a vernacular liturgy, election of bishops, and a larger autonomy for the American church. Given the shattering impact of the French Revolution and Carroll's

own struggles with fractious priests and rebellious trustees, his frequent recourse to the Roman authorities and his reliance upon tried and true forms in his search for stability are understandable.

Yet it was Carroll more than any other American hierarch who won acceptability, respectability, and even admiration for the Catholic Church in a part of the world long hostile to popery. The church he created was unobtrusive. It possessed a minimum of institutions. Its adherents numbered not even one in a hundred. But it was a part of the mainstream, sharing the social, cultural, and intellectual life of the nation, a condition that stood in striking contrast to the immigrant church at the end of the century. The extent of Carroll's role in the domestication of his church is best seen in the host of secular institutions he helped create and guide. A list of the bodies to which he was elected president of the board would include St. John's College in Annapolis, the Library Company of Baltimore, the Female Humane Association Charity School, Baltimore College, and the Society for Promoting Useful Knowledge. Surprisingly, there is precious little about these latter activities in *The John Carroll Papers*.

While a close reading of the *Papers* discloses facets of Carroll's character and mode of acting largely ignored by biographers—his theoretical and practical approach toward slavery, for example—it leaves much about this very private man in the shadows. There is a studied formality even in letters to his family and friends. This is more than convention. Carroll was a cautious man who kept tight reins on his emotions, even in the face of outrageous provocation. It is hard to believe, however, that he was a humorless as his letters make him to be. An unrelenting constraint, nevertheless, provided firm ground for the tact, skill, and even gentle cunning that enabled him to perform his impossible task.

Enough time has elapsed since the publication of *The John Carroll Papers* to allow an initial enthusiastic reception to be tempered by serious reservations. On the credit side, the translations from the Latin by the late Charles Metzger, S.J., from the French by Annabelle Melville, and from the Italian by the Reverend Robert Trisco are uniformly excellent. The English transcriptions are, by and large, equally competent. One serious omission, however, must be noted: the phrase "a refined political Roman contrivance" following a reference to bishops *in partibus*, that is, vicars apostolic, and the conclusion of the same sentence, "so that we are very easy about their [Rome's] machinations" (1:146). Unfortunately, the omission raises questions about the texts in general.

With familiarity the poor quality of the editing becomes increasingly apparent. This deficiency, however, has been ably demonstrated in a compilation of lapses, major and minor, that does not pretend to be exhaustive. See John J. Tierney, "Another View of The John Carroll Papers," *Catholic Historical Review*, 64 (October 1978): 660–70. Any attempt to extend this list would be tedious at best. One must quarrel, however, with the editor's prefatory claim that the introductions to each volume serve to "give additional aid to understanding the context of individual items" (1:lxvii). Many of Carroll's letters are incomprehensible without editorial comment on the content of the particular letters that occasioned Carroll's replies.

The most serious criticism that can be levelled against the *Papers*, however, is the failure to include an astounding number of letters and other documents, many of them of more than routine importance. In the light of the editor's laudable effort to ferret out fugitive pieces, one wonders how the most important of three letterbooks in the Carroll papers in the archives of the archdiocese of Baltimore, covering a period from 1799 to 1815, was overlooked. Forty-one of the Carroll letters in this letterbook are published in the form of inadequate extracts and summaries from the Shea Transcripts at Georgetown University, fifty-five of them not at all. With no attempt at a systematic search, the Reverend John J. Tierney, archivist of the archdiocese of Baltimore, and the present writer uncovered at least thirty additional items—letters, memoranda, and significant

notanda—scattered throughout the Carroll papers in the archives but not published. Nor does this include the numerous entries made by Carroll in the baptismal, marriage, and burial registers of the cathedral parish or the minutes of the meetings of the cathedral trustees also in his hand. There are thirty-eight Carroll letters or extracts in the archives of the Congregation of the Propaganda Fide in Rome that were also overlooked. Nine of these are letters to Simon Gallagher, Carroll's most troublesome priest. At least eight other items have to date been unearthed in other archives and thirteen Carroll letters found in periodicals, histories, or biographies that do not appear in the *Papers*.

The three volumes of *The John Carroll Papers* contain about eight hundred letters to particular individuals. There can be little doubt, however, that Carroll answered nearly every letter addressed to him, and there are some 2,400 such letters preserved in the archdiocesan archives. It is a puzzle, therefore, why the editor included in the body of the text references to letters "not found" when the number so designated is miniscule compared to the actual number of letters undiscovered or even to the number for which there are specific allusions in the letters of his correspondents.

With all its assorted omissions and shortcomings, however, *The John Carroll Papers* remains a serviceable corpus of Carroll writings for scholars aware of its deficiencies. There is, nevertheless, a crying need for a supplementary volume of Carroll documents that would include a reliable index for the entire work.

Spalding College

THOMAS W. SPALDING

Daniel Carroll II: One Man and His Descendants 1730-1798. By Sister M. Virginia Geiger. (Baltimore: College of Notre Dame of Maryland, 1979; Pp. xiii, 314. \$20.)

Daniel Carroll II (1730-1796) held a distinguished place in the history of his times in Maryland. Most notably, he signed the Constitution of the United States for Maryland. Earlier he served on the Governor's Council, and was a Delegate to the Continental Congress. He continued in public affairs, shortly before his death serving as a Commissioner for the District of Columbia. His place in the historical literature of Maryland, however, is not commensurate with these services to America. The explanation of this is the common one, that only a limited number of his personal papers have been preserved.

Fortunately, the author early in her academic career provided scholars and other students of the Maryland Revolutionary generation with a biography of this important figure. One of the important features of the present volume is a concise presentation of Carroll's public and private life. The larger treatment is available only in libraries, so that this new publication serves a present need. With new research a fresh interpretation of Carroll's understandings of sovereignty and other important issues of the times have been brought to this second study.

Technically this study is in the category of genealogy. The reviewer, however, sees that in the context of social history Carroll as treated here illustrates certain trends in the broad stream of American history. This might be stated in different ways. The Revolutionary generation continued under elitism in its leadership in a deferential society during Carroll's lifetime. Historians are currently occupied with the early nineteenth century mutation in this condition. It is suggested here that the subsequent history of a distinguished family provides evidence for charting a facet of social history beyond the Jacksonian era. Three impressions especially emerge. In the four main lines of descent from Daniel Carroll II, one constant is the marriage into other families which are distinguished in lineage and from gentry in Carroll's generation. Another is the regularity with which descendants find a place in public service. A most recent example of this is the American diplomat, Outerbridge Horsey.

The sources upon which this study stands are the two hundred or more interviews which the author conducted with living descendants. In addition to these reports in writing,

family papers (including wills), unpublished biographical accounts, and a variety of other source material have been gathered. These have been deposited in the Fourier Library Archives at the College of Notre Dame in Baltimore and are available to researchers. It should be noted that the author provides extensive accounts of families with whom the Daniel Carroll descendants intermarried, so that papers for these are also located in this archive. In many cases the author gives brief accounts of historical topics related to descendants, which are drawn from standard works and are provided for general reader interest (e.g., *ex parte Merryman*, 1861). The traditional apparatus for documentation of historical writings was not suitable to the author's purpose nor necessary. The schematic organization of the book and the index provide adequate reference and guide to the archival deposits upon which the primary and basic research rests.

Loyola College, Baltimore

THOMAS O'BRIEN HANLEY

Recreating the Historic House Interior. By William Seale. (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1979. Pp. x, 270. \$22.00.)

A brief guide for preservationists and museums whose efforts involve recreating house interiors best describes this lavishly illustrated book. Its author is an authority on restorations and a historian, which imparts a unique viewpoint. Frequently, it seems, the specialty of restoring excludes the historical perception except in the narrowest of ways. Seale, however, forcefully recommends that the preservation project begin only after exhaustive research. He states bluntly that the United States is "filled with house museums and period museum rooms that are the results of sloppy, if any, historical research." Seale then outlines the steps that must be completed before the house is touched, and he returns to this basic theme throughout the text.

In general, the author is concerned that an authentic historical environment become the guiding principle in preservation efforts. Specifically, the book discusses how that is accomplished in chapters on furnishings, lighting, textiles, wall coverings, and decorative objects. Seale makes distinctions as to what objects belong in particular time frames and also delineates items that fit only upper or middle class houses. The democratization of the preservation movement in recent years makes that kind of discussion useful. The readers of *Maryland Historical Magazine* will be pleased to see that he makes occasional references to typical house styles in the Chesapeake, and that one of the illustrations is from the Paca House in Annapolis. There is also a select bibliography that preservationists or museum curators will want to consult.

Although Seale's volume is intended for those undertaking restoration projects, it is useful to historians interested in the interior changes of houses. It may serve, too, as a general reference for social historians attempting to determine the advent of household advances, such as types of lamps or heating equipment. Yet, most of the book (145 pages) is given over to the plates (excellent quality, on art stock) illustrating preservation efforts. That left only 100 pages for narrative; in several places he obviously wanted to say more. Nevertheless, the captions with the plates do offer other significant points that highlight some of the general themes.

Essex Community College

NEAL A. BROOKS

Encyclopedia of Black America. W. Augustus Low, editor, and Virgil A. Clift, associate editor. (New York: McGraw Hill, 1981. Pp. xx, 921, \$49.50.)

In this 921-page encyclopedia, editor W. Augustus Low, professor of history at the University of Maryland, Baltimore County, and associate editor Virgil A. Clift, emeritus professor of education at New York University, indeed have succeeded in producing "a

reliable and readable reference that represents in large measure the totality of the past and present life and culture of the Afro-American." Utilizing the specialized knowledge of eighty-nine prominent contributors and thirty-three consultants from various disciplines, the editors have provided laymen, students, and specialists with an excellent factual account and interpretive analysis of the life and history of Afro-Americans in the United States from their African roots to 1977.

Alphabetically arranged, the encyclopedia contains 325 major and minor thematic essays. Sixty-one of these essays deal with eleven themes: Africa, African legacy-survivals, Afro-American history, civil disorders, civil rights, education, literature, music, newspapers, race, and slavery. Virtually all religious groups with which blacks have been or are affiliated receive separate and ample treatment. The statistical data on church membership, employment, income, urban population, and other facets of black life should prove informative to the general reader and useful to the serious student. The listings of newspapers, periodicals, larger businesses, banks, insurance companies, and radio and television stations with descriptive data on each entry provide invaluable information. References appended at the end of each essay guide interested individuals to sources for further study. These essays constitute about two-thirds of the encyclopedia.

Some of the essays are superb analyses. Those on athletics, civil disorders, and slavery are most notable. In the analysis of the problems of the "historic black colleges," omitted from the discussion was the problem of the quality of black college leadership, particularly the quality of the administrators of publicly-supported black colleges in the south where state authorities controlled the selection process. Also, the essay on Harlem suffers from inadequate treatment.

Such individuals as Arnold H. Taylor of Howard University, David L. Lewis of the Center for Advanced Study at Palo Alto, and others are omitted from the list of notable historians and the biographical accounts. Dorothy B. Ferebee who had gained nation-wide recognition as a medical doctor, educator, health administrator, and a strong advocate for women's rights and black rights is cross-referenced to the section on "Health" where one finds the only notation to her in a one-statement caption under a small group picture.

Recently published *The Progress of Afro-American Women: A Selected Bibliography and Resource Guide* compiled by Janet L. Sims, *The Black Family in the United States* compiled by Janet L. Sims and Lenwood G. Davis, and *Marcus Garvey: An Annotated Bibliography* compiled by Lenwood G. Davis and Janet L. Sims must be included in any subsequent revision of this encyclopedia. Important and substantial collections, papers, and materials at the Library of Congress and the National Council of Negro Women, both of which are located in Washington, D.C., should have been listed in the section on archives. Likewise, many of the state archives such as those of Pennsylvania and South Carolina contain important holdings on black life and culture.

In any work of this size, some errors, editorial or otherwise, are likely to occur. Extent should be extend (p. vi); Stono is misspelled (p. xvii); closed quotation marks are missing (p. xvii); and the Constitution did not abolish the slave trade (p. 43). These errors are minor and do not detract from the otherwise fine quality of the book.

The *Encyclopedia of Black America* is a comprehensive and, indeed, monumental compilation of facts, analyses, and biographies on blacks and black life in the United States. It is to-date the only one of its magnitude available. It is a major work of scholarship; it should prove to be an indispensable source for those seeking information on blacks. Along with the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups*, it provides specialists, students, and general readers access to information about the life, culture, and history of the variety of groups making up American society. Editors Low and Clift are to be highly commended for their very significant contribution to this knowledge.

Howard University

MARTHA S. PUTNEY

A Bibliography on Historical Organization Practices. Edited by Frederick L. Rath, Jr. and Marilyn Rogers O'Connell. (Nashville, Tenn.: American Association of State and Local History). Volume 1: *Historic Preservation* (1975. Pp. 141. \$10.00); Volume 2: *Care and Conservation of Collections* (1977. Pp. 107. \$10.00); Volume 3: *Interpretation* (1978. Pp. 90. \$10.00); Volume 4: *Documentation of Collections* (1979. Pp. 218. \$12.50); Volume 5: *Administration* (1980. Pp. 250. \$14.95.).

In 1975, the American Association For State and Local History began its series *Bibliography on Historical Organization Practices*, and to date has produced 5 volumes under the editorial direction of Frederic L. Rath Jr. and Marilyn Rogers O'Connell. Rosemary Reese compiled volumes three through five. The set is an essential tool for anyone working in historical societies, museums, libraries, and archives. Drawing on books, articles, pamphlets and other material mainly published since 1945, the editors have listed thousands of works designed to assist professionals working with historical collections.

Each bibliography begins with an invaluable chapter on basic reference works and is then divided thematically. Volume one covers historic preservation in perspective, preservation law, urban development and redevelopment, preservation research and planning, and preservation action. Volume two lists works on general reference and conservation organizations; philosophy, history, and principles of conservation; conservation laboratories and instrumentation; training of conservators; environmental factors in conservation; conservation of library materials; conservation of paintings; conservation of works of art on paper; and conservation of objects. Volume three is devoted to interpretation and offers material on the role of interpretation; visitor surveys; museum programs; museums and schools; museum exhibits; and museums in the media age. Volume four on the documentation of collections lists almost 3000 works on artifacts, decorative arts, fine arts, and folk arts and crafts collections. The last volume, on administration, is a guide to such topics as history and contemporary issues; governing boards; resources for administration; personnel training and management; financial management; fund raising; tax, law, and insurance; buildings; printing and publishing; public relations; management of collections; and library and archive administration.

These books are more than checklists; they are complete guides to the subjects for they include excellent annotations for every entry. Each bibliography also provides a chapter of information on international, national, state and local organizations devoted to the subject covered. The bibliographies are thoroughly indexed. These volumes constitute the basic reference work for historical society and museum professionals.

The New-York Historical Society

LARRY E. SULLIVAN

Guide to the Manuscript Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society. Compiled by Don C. Skemer and Robert C. Morris. Newark: The New Jersey Historical Society, 1979. 245 pp. \$20.00.)

This is a new *Guide* to the manuscripts in the historical society of a neighboring state. The *Guide*, which supercedes an edition that appeared 22 years ago, is needed to describe original sources that have increased by threefold. The compilers expanded and improved old entries, and they have provided concise and precise descriptions of large, new quantities of manuscripts.

There are new 1,057 numbered entries. Given the extent of the material handled and the variety of names and subjects recorded, surprisingly few errors are found. The *Guide* includes three appendices, which describe the Society's archives, list microfilm of manuscripts in other repositories, and provide a chronological list by decades of the manuscript

groups. Several photographs add interest. The extensive index requires 47 pages. Dozens of persons of national prominence are listed in the index.

Most manuscripts relate to many aspects of New Jersey history, as is to be expected. Specific reference to Maryland is found in two entries; Virginia is cited in 13 entries. References to states as distant as Colorado, New Mexico, Kentucky, California, and Minnesota are found.

Notable are the number of groups of manuscripts relating to women. Sources for ethnic history are evident, and basic documents of shoe manufacturers, a textile worker, a circus agent, a slave trader, a touring soprano, several musical organizations, and a 19th century socialist community are among the special interest manuscripts sure to intrigue many who use the guide.

A guide should offer to the user the same challenge given to an inveterate traveller by a new road map, a new timetable, or a new tour circular. Mr. Skemer's and Mr. Morris's guide does just that. The New Jersey Historical Society is to be congratulated for having performed a basic service in preparing and publishing the guide.

Kensington, Maryland

FRED SHELLEY

The Cultural Pattern in American Politics: The First Century. By Robert Kelley. (New York, N.Y.: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979. Pp. xiv, 368. \$15.00.)

Grand historical syntheses tend to be frail and awkward creatures, like Napoleon's Russian army impressive in their awesome expanse but proving all too often mortal in their high vulnerability to localized attack. It remains to be seen how well Robert Kelley's edifice, *The Cultural Pattern in American Politics*, weathers the roving bands of specialists as they subject the surface cracks to concentrated analysis, seeking out unreinforced stress points. The final judgment in this war of attrition awaits the compilation of evidence. What is clear now, though, is that Robert Kelley has erected a lucid and in many ways quite sophisticated synthesis and explication of the first century of American political development, 1776-1877.

In his introduction Kelley cites two conceptual strategies which provide the basic structure of his synthesis: the notion of critical elections and the five American party systems and the concept of modernization applied within American history. This book deals with the first three party systems: the Jeffersonian (1790s-1820s), the Jacksonian (1828-1854), and the Civil War party system (1856-1893). Accepting these chronological divisions, Kelley attempts to delineate the cultural origins and allegiances of the elemental "ethnic groups" (e.g. Scotch-Irish, Anglican, Irish Catholic, Baptist) and thereby understand the formal political party organizations as a consolidation of these lesser units. Problematic here is Kelley's loose application of the term "ethnic"—a fact he acknowledges in the introduction (p. 23) but justifies by the lack of any more precise alternative definitions offered by other scholars—one result of which is a certain fuzziness which obtains whenever Kelley leaves the terrain of detailed analysis and attempts to formulate guiding generalizations, as in his final chapter summary.

For Kelley, the entire American political structure of the first century of statehood rests upon the bipolar cultural opposition already formed in the colonial period: the cosmopolitan, town-centered, elitist, Anglican establishment outlook versus the localist, Scotch-Irish, country, Dissenter outlook. The bipolar American cultural conflict was a transposition of the "out-group—in-group" cultural conflict of mother Britain. It was the Anglican establishment Tories versus the Scotch-Irish dissenter Whigs. Those without power sought the protective security of Whiggish constitutional, decentralized, pluralistic government.

Herein lay the fundamental bipolar split, but within the domestic political context these bald groupings were augmented somewhat. Most American colonials experienced "out-

group" status vis-à-vis England, but in America there also existed sub-outgroups. Quakers and sometimes Baptists suffered at the hands of domestic American ingroups—Presbyterians and Congregationalists primarily. Thus, for those domestic sub-groups, protection rested with the Imperial masters—the Anglican establishment. Taking into consideration both these established Old World antagonisms and the recently acquired New World grievances, Kelley outlines two cultural coalitions existing at the time of the American Revolution: 1) the Scotch-Irish, German Reformed, country, anti-England, republican, rural Whigs, and 2) the Anglican, Quaker, sometimes Baptist, court, business, cosmopolitan, seaboard-tending Tories. Once the English threat was removed, American politics shifted towards a new bipolar configuration: North versus South. This division was evident at the first pan-colonial Congresses, and burst out in full color at the Federal Convention. Americans shared a common "universe of discourse"—republicanism, but groups differed as to how this vision was to be attained (p. 83). New England republicanism tended to be moralistic, fervently religious, missionary, socially deferential, while Southern republicanism could be libertarian (e.g. Washington, James Madison) and/or rural and locally minded. The Middle States, holding for Kelley the political balance in national politics, shared two strains of republicanism: one strongly egalitarian (and hostile to New York and Philadelphian business interests) and the other nationalistic and elitist. The new central cultural conflict, then, was between the "essentially 'pre-modern'" New England culture (p. 98), taking as its social model the corporate, consensual community which required an active use of government and tended to encourage the emergence of an assertive and acquisitive modern society, and the more leisurely and accepting Southern culture. New England was deeply English with a Dissenting tradition. The Southern culture tended to recognize the ideal of a free-thinking, worldly gentry class solicitous of the concerns of slaves and the lower social orders, sharing also a respect for the virtues of the independent yeomanry. This culture, Kelley tells us, was destined to move away from English ties, for its growing Scotch-Irish and German population and commitment to slavery would isolate it within the Anglo-American world. Standing as a buffer state between these two inherently hostile visions were the Middle States, which were generally oriented toward local political concerns and thus could be swung, in the right circumstances, either way in the national debate.

Kelley is at his most convincing when he outlines this complex bipolar cultural matrix existing at the end of the eighteenth century. This fundamental North-South cultural chasm, supplemented in some areas by lingering Court-Country allegiances (Federalist Tidewater) and endemic political rivalries (the Republican and later Democratic town-centered mechanic and immigrant vote and Baptist-Methodist interests), dominated the political life of the nation through its first hundred years. The first party system, the Jeffersonian, articulated and consolidated the split; the second system, the Jacksonian, though complicated by new economic questions and immigration, essentially expressed the Yankee-Southern split (here Kelley tends to read Eric Foner [*Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men*, 1970] back into the 1830s and 1840s); the third system, the Civil War system, finalized the split.

The major cultural and political event of the nineteenth century, for Kelley, was the influx of Irish-Catholics in the 1840s and 1850s. Until then, though New England and the slave South represented two different cultural worlds, the New England dominated Federalist-Whig party had strength in the South and the Southern dominated Republican-Democratic party maintained northern footholds. Balance existed, Kelley emphasizes. However, the "arrival of the Catholic-Irish . . . immediately shifted all political equations in America," and indeed touched off the political snowball that would ultimately crash in the Civil War (p. 173). Old World emotions again came to the fore. Where inveterate Catholic-haters (like the Scotch-Irish, Welsh, and English Britons) had sided in places like New York City with the Democrats for local economic and political reasons, the

Catholic arrival forced them into the nativist and anti-Catholic Whig party. As a result, "In key Northern states the *English* monolith within the Whig party began to expand into one that was British" (p. 173). The Catholics meanwhile swelled the ranks of the Democratic party, but the slavery issue would ultimately split that party into political impotence. It was to be the achievement of the Republicans to consolidate this British, anti-Catholic, anti-slave labor, and most precisely anti-Southern Northern sentiment into the winning party of 1860.

Central to his synthesis, Kelley recognizes (pp. 15-16), is its ability to explain satisfactorily the Civil War. On this point he pretty clearly follows the argument articulated by Eric Foner in *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men*, elaborated in one respect: Kelley gives central focus to the Irish-Catholic influx. Militant Yankee New England was inherently opposed to the paternal and tradition-minded South. This had been the case since the 1790s. Yet, the nation was still able to function as an entity through the mediation of the Middle Atlantic and Middle Western states. It was the Catholics, Kelley asserts, who shifted the balancing allegiances of this middle section in the direction of the Yankee dominated Republican party, thus precipitating the Civil War.

This notion has a certain neatness to recommend it, as does in fact the whole book. A relevant question though, and one which Kelley, in his "bipolar" allegiance does not confront, is whether the West may have had a separate cultural identity of its own, a recognition of interests—economic and political—peculiar to itself. The value of Kelley's book lies in its sophisticated "vertical" perspective of American cultural politics. New cultural-political orientations are superimposed upon older cultural-political orientations. The virtues of this approach are readily evident. The sometimes ticklish matter of explaining why such hardened foes of Enlightenment thought as the Baptists and Methodists should line up so readily behind Jefferson is easily dispatched. The scheme also easily accommodates the Whiggery of highland Southern farmers, as well as the mad rush to the Whig-American-Republican party by certain Northern city interests whose economic needs would seem to be best served by the Democratic party. The picture, however, does lack "horizontal" breadth. This does not diminish the book's value as an organizing schema; this value is well proven by its flexibility. But this horizontal narrowness does cost the argument when something more than a neat bipolar question is at issue; that is, when the West signifies more than a balancing act between two poles, as in the Jacksonian political world (specifically with respect to Jacksonian economic questions—incidentally, I think, the weakest chapter in the book) and the coming of the Civil War. The vertical bipolar picture effectively elucidates the cultural progressions and retrogressions which constitute a nation's political development, but the angle tends, in certain contexts, to restrict us to a bipolar picture when perhaps a trifocal print would be more informative.

The Johns Hopkins University

PETER K. KAUFER

Mr. Peale's Museum: Charles Willson Peale and the First Popular Museum Museum of Natural Science and Art. By Charles Coleman Sellers. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1980. Pp. 370. \$14.95.)

The role of Charles Willson Peale and his progeny in American art is well known; their contribution to science is less known, and this is the story that Charles Coleman Sellers, whose biography of Peale won the 1970 Bancroft Prize in History, tells with thoroughness, well-researched detail, and evident pleasure in *Mr. Peale's Museum*—the story of America's first great natural history museum and the family that presided over it. (It is also, I was disappointed to discover, primarily a Philadelphia story; Baltimore's Peale Museum was a subsidiary venture of the Peale sons, quite different in thrust and importance from their father's Philadelphia Museum.)

The Museum was a family affair and many Peales figure in this account (the excellent index lists 40), but central to it all, though the tale extends a quarter-century beyond his death, is Charles Willson Peale. Already established as a portrait painter, he founded the museum in 1784 as a potentially more profitable extension of a gallery he had begun two years earlier to promote his art. From this somewhat accidental beginning emerged the first popular natural history museum as well as Peale's career as a leading naturalist. He performed important work in collecting, mounting, and classifying American birds. In 1801 he set off on America's first organized scientific expedition, to search for the bones of "the great American Incognitum" (the mastodon); his accomplishment in collecting the bones and assembling the skeleton earned him, in Sellers' estimation, "a permanent niche in the history of paleontology." A classic American tinkerer and inventor, he patented a bridge, experimented with gas lighting and the manufacture of porcelain teeth, developed his own medical regimen, and sought in numerous ways to improve the lot of humankind.

While Sellers allows that it is impossible to assess precisely the Museum's influence on the development of American museums, it is clear that Peale's was a remarkable achievement. Before Peale the natural history museum was largely a cabinet of curiosities, the more curious, the better. Peale preferred to exhibit typical specimens mounted in natural postures and groupings, displayed before painted backdrops of their habitat (a format later made famous by the American Museum of Natural History), the cases arranged so the viewer could see the relationship of one species to another. Other innovations included public lectures illustrated by actual specimens or lantern slides, and geology and anthropological exhibits.

These were great achievements, but Peale's greatest contribution was in his unprecedented conception of the museum as a great engine of popular education, "to form [in his words] a school of useful knowledge" open to "every class" and "each sex and age." Peale saw his museum as a model of Rousseauian "rational amusement," where the visitor could learn to be a better and healthier person and a more productive citizen by studying the birds and beasts, gazing at portraits of patriots, scientists, and philosophers, and by pondering the manufacturing possibilities suggested by mineral displays and models of invention.

While many visitors undoubtedly came away with the vision Peale hoped they would (and which he encouraged with framed mottos and biblical texts), for most visitors the museum was amusement, rational or otherwise, and as a proprietary commercial venture it had to amuse in order to sell tickets and survive. Peale, who saw his collection as the nucleus of a great national collection and the repository for the heritage of a nation, hoped that public subsidy or purchase would insure the collection's integrity and guard it from dispersal, but despite support from eminent politicians and naturalists, including his friend Thomas Jefferson, he was unsuccessful in obtaining that guarantee. This failure meant that the only protections against the breaking up of a collection so painstakingly assembled were the commitment of his heirs and the continued income-generating popularity of the Museum. For years it was popular and profitable, achieving its height in the early years of the nineteenth century when, using the neighboring Philosophical and Independence Halls for exhibits and the State House gardens for a zoo, the museum was a "must-see" place for Philadelphians and visitors to their city.

This success would not continue. The Museum could not be scrupulously scientific and popular at the same time, which handicapped it in its struggle for survival against more specialized institutions. The scientific status of the Philosophical Society was uncompromised by undignified advertising or theatrical entertainments. In the 1820s the lyceum movement generated competing lecture series, including those of the new Franklin Institute. But the fatal stroke came from the popular museums, imitators of Peale's, but offering sensationalistic exhibits and entertainment not found in the original. Rubens, Rembrandt, Titian, Franklin, and Edmund Peale tried to make the Museum a paying

proposition by adding more popular entertainment, but even without their father's scruples it became a losing and eventually bankrupt operation. In the end it was P. T. Barnum, a forthright purveyor of amusement, a man who saw himself as a businessman and promoter, not as a scientific or moral educator, who gobbled up much of what was left of the Museum when it was auctioned off in 1854. This frustration of so much effort, to say nothing of the triumph of the huckster over the savant, adds a sober note to this sometimes comic, always interesting story.

This book ought to be appealing to both the specialist and the general reader. It is well-researched (back-of-the-book footnotes but no bibliography) and balanced; the author is familiar with the scientific and cultural life of the period and placed the Museum in context, clearly delineating its accomplishments but also not claiming too much for it. And if occasionally over-detailed it is a good story, told with enthusiasm and humor (it would be a good candidate for one of those television multi-week family sagas). While the Museum provides the organizing focus of the book, Sellers never allows us to forget that it was the product of individuals working in a particular milieu, and if the sheer numbers of Peales and Peale in-laws sometimes become overwhelming, they are all interesting and like Peale's mounted birds, are lifelike and displayed against a realistic background.

The volume itself is handsomely produced, well-illustrated (eight pages of color plates and over 100 half-tone illustrations), and modestly priced (thanks, one surmises, to a subsidy from the Barra Foundation).

Baltimore, Maryland

MICHAEL S. FRANCH

The Antiquers. By Elizabeth Stillinger. (New York: Alfred A Knopf, 1980. Pp. xv, 301. \$16.95, cloth.)

The collecting and appreciation of early American antiques, although presumptively important today, has only recently reached the point at which its own development is worthy of serious study. Just as Charles Hosmer's recent book *Preservation Comes of Age* illustrates our obligations to reexamine the origins of protecting our historic buildings, Elizabeth Stillinger's *The Antiquers* exemplifies our need to see the beginnings of treasuring our American decorative arts. *The Antiquers* is the first comprehensive book on the subject, although ground was broken a few years ago. Richard Saunders in his Winterthur thesis and subsequent articles in *Antiques* magazine in 1976 analyzed early collecting of American decorative arts in New England. The same topic was discussed in a lecture by Brock Jobe at the 1979 Williamsburg Forum examining the transition from collecting objects in New England solely for historical and genealogical reasons to appreciating them for their own merits. Mrs. Stillinger's own work draws on that of Saunders and Lawrence Wroth but branches out into a much wider area and larger group of collectors. What she does in this volume is to focus on individuals and then place their collecting in a larger framework, as an expression of American society in various periods. It is appropriate, albeit charming, that the book is subtitled: "The lives and careers, the deals, the finds, the collections of the men and women who were responsible for the changing taste in American antiques, 1850-1930."

The author begins as an introduction with the consciousness of history building throughout the nation by the 1850s. Longfellow's poems "Paul Revere's Ride" and "The Old Clock on the Stairs" gave an importance to object association, as exemplified by the exhibits at the so-called "sanitary fairs" and at the Centennial celebrations. Diverse items such as a wine glass used by George Washington were as evocative as a representation of the old New England kitchen for portraying the quaintness of the earlier times. The first collectors were an odd lot who surrounded themselves with unbelievable clutters of relics so as to

invoke the "unspeakable charm" of the objects. Nevertheless, urbane collectors like Ben: Perley Poore soon lent legitimacy to the practice with elegant houses crowded with furniture, china, silver, paintings, and old architectural elements from a wide area. Eventually the "arts-and-crafts movement," as Mrs. Stillinger points out, joined hands with antique collecting in veneration of the "handmade" object over that produced by a machine.

Mrs. Stillinger finds a firm groundwork for studying and buying native antiques by the last decade of the nineteenth century. The publication of Irving Lyon's timeless book *The Colonial Furniture of New England* finally gave the populace a source for ready information. Wealthy, urban New Englanders began to make great treasure hunts into the countryside, the excitement of which was only exceeded by the splendid discoveries in the attics and barns of thrifty farmers. Even with the increasing interest of the old elite and self-made millionaires such as Marsden Perry and Richard Canfield, by the turn of the century American antiques had not yet fully arrived. The author discovered that the native objects were still discussed patronizingly as inferior to European antiques. A new generation of museum professionals in liaison with wealthy collectors finally brought American objects to the forefront. Their contributions were reflected in significant exhibits in Boston, Philadelphia, and at the Essex Institute. None matched the vision, however, of Henry Watson Kent and his plan of the Hudson-Fulton exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum in 1909. In the same year the Walpole Society, a small group of men devoted to the decorative arts, was organized. Although Mrs. Stillinger adjudges the Club as elitist and somewhat serendipitous, through numerous anecdotes she emphasizes its positive and pervasive influence on the collection and study of American antiques.

Mrs. Stillinger traces today's attitudes about antiques to the aftermath of World War I. The period of Wallace Nutting, the establishment of the Metropolitan's American Wing by R. T. H. Halsey, and the founding of *Antiques* magazine promulgated the national pride in "All-American" antiques. Many of our ideas have since been modified, but the collecting figures of the 1920s laid a foundation for our aesthetic attitudes about decorative arts.

In the last section of the book, the author's strengths shine forth. Mrs. Stillinger has delightful stories about each person throughout the volume, but the anecdotes about the more recent collectors are the most lucid and illuminating. For example, she recounts the visits of the young Henry DuPont to Electra Havemeyer Webb's houses at Shelburne and Henry Sleeper's house at Gloucester to give us a clear realization of how Winterthur was actually conceived. Similar stories abound for Henry Ford, Francis Garvan, and Louis Guerineau Myers and the pioneering women collectors. Although the women were excluded from the Walpole Society, they brought a style to antiquing and to arranging period rooms that will never be seen again. One anecdote about Electra Webb particularly illustrates the author's witty approach to portraying individual collectors. After salvaging a huge paddlewheel steamer, the last of its kind, Mrs. Webb finally screwed up the courage to tell her husband, and he replied "That's not so bad, I think a lot of the other stuff you bought is much worse." The image from this story, and others about the elegant Katherine Prentis Murphy and imperious Louise duPont Crowninshield have given this reviewer a fresh insight into the countless museum installations which they personally designed.

There is no doubt that Mrs. Stillinger has given us a beautiful and exceedingly readable book. It is finely illustrated and well-documented with copious, if disappointingly abbreviated, notes. Marylanders should find the volume of particular interest due to the chapter dealing with R. T. H. Halsey, a New Englander, who had an important role in the beginnings of Historic Annapolis. Most importantly he taught America's first decorative arts course at St. John's College from 1928 to 1932, thereby laying the groundwork for today's museum studies programs. It does seem, however, that more information about

Halsey's teaching methods, utilizing borrowed pieces from the Garvan collection, and the thought-provoking lectures he presented throughout Maryland would have made the chapter more complete.

Looking for omissions is usually counter-productive and one cannot quarrel with the fascinating individuals on which Mrs. Stillinger chose to focus. The book's coverage is remarkably broad but, nevertheless, rather neglectful of the South. It is true that most of the wealthy early collectors were confined to the Northeast and that they generally set the fashion of antiquing. There was, however, a consciousness of antiques and objects of historical association below the Mason-Dixon line well before the twentieth century. The consciousness is documented in letters by the late eighteenth century and is reflected in the establishment of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association, the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, and displays of early furniture at events such as the "Art Loan Exhibition" at Norfolk in 1879. The latter event and others in the South would have been worth mentioning in the first chapter along with similar early exhibits in the Northeast.

The only mention of the South before the 1920s in the book is generally of New Englanders going to the region to buy antiques and remove them. In the last section Mrs. Stillinger very appropriately includes Ima Hogg of Houston and the Reverend W. A. R. Goodwin, the founder of Colonial Williamsburg, who had remarkable assiduity in trying to portray eighteenth-century life in the town by exhibiting the work of Williamsburg cabinetmakers. This is not the whole story. An interest, for example, in the decorative arts of South Carolina began at an early date and was reflected in the publication by the Walpole Society of records of early craftsmen in 1929. Also Frank Horton's lectures at the 1981 Antiques Forum and elsewhere show the presence of serious collectors and dealers in the South before 1930.

The periodic narrowness of area in the book is not glaring and could never be a reason to ignore Mrs. Stillinger's excellent work. Despite the changing scholarship in period-room and museum installations, she has given us an unshakeable appreciation of the amazing contributions of the early collectors. *The Antiquers* is indispensable to the occasional browser of antique shops, auctions, and museums, as well as the serious decorative arts student.

Richmond, Virginia

JONATHAN H. POSTON

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Austin, Aleine. *Matthew Lyon: "New Man" of the Democratic Revolution, 1749-1822*. (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1981. Pp. xii, 192. Indexed. \$16.50, cloth.)
- Baer, Christopher T. *Canals and Railroads of the Mid-Atlantic States, 1800-1860*. (Wilmington, Del.: Regional Economic History Research Center, the Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, Inc., 1981. Pp. iv, 80. Maps, tables. \$15.00, paper.)
- Bateman, Fred, and Thomas Weiss. *A Deplorable Scarcity: The Failure of Industrialization in the Slave Economy*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1981. Pp. xiv, 237. Tables, index. \$19.00, cloth.)
- Baumann, Roland M. and Diane S. Wallace. *Guide to the Microfilm Collections in the Pennsylvania State Archives*. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1980. Pp. x, 117. Indexed. \$5.00, paper.)
- Bernier, Olivier. *Pleasure and Privilege: Life in France, Naples, and America, 1770-1790*. (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1981. Pp. xiv, 290. Illustrations, index. \$14.95, cloth.)

- Chesson, Michael B. *Richmond After the War, 1865-1890*. (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1981. Pp. xxi, 255. Illustrations, tables, index. \$20.00, cloth; \$12.50, paper.)
- Clarfield, Gerard H. *Timothy Pickering and the American Republic*. (Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh Press, 1980. Pp. viii, 320. Indexed. \$19.95, cloth.)
- Elsmere, Jane Shaffer. *Justice Samuel Chase*. (Muncie, Indiana: Janevar Publishing Co., 1980. Pp. ix, 370. Indexed. \$14.95, cloth.)
- Gates, John D. *The Astor Family*. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1981. Pp. viii, 352. Indexed. \$14.95, cloth.)
- Hess, Karen, ed. *Martha Washington's Booke of Cookery*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981. Pp. x, 518. Illustrations, index. \$19.95, cloth.)
- Idzerda, Stanley J., editor. *Lafayette in the Age of the American Revolution: Selected Letters and Papers, 1776-1790; Volume IV, April 1, 1781-December 23, 1781*. (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981. Pp. xlvii, 538. Illustrations, index. \$38.50, cloth.)
- Kent, Barry C. *Discovering Pennsylvania's Archeological Heritage*. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1980. 46 pp. Illustrated. \$2.25, paper.)
- Kitching, Frances, and Susan Stiles Dowell. *Mrs. Kitching's Smith Island Cookbook*. (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, 1981. 128 pp. Index, illustrations. \$9.50, cloth.)
- Krech, Shepard, III. *Praise the Bridge That Carries You Over: The Life of Joseph L. Sutton*. (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1981. Pp. xxvii, 209. Illustration, tables. \$18.50, cloth; \$8.95, paper.)
- Larew, Marilyn M. *Bel Air: The Town Through its Buildings*. Historic Sites Inventory Volumes. (Edgewood, Md.: Northfield Press, Inc. for the Town of Bel Air and the Maryland Historical Trust, 1981. Pp. viii, 151. Illustrations, index. \$. , paper.)
- Roeber, A. G. *Faithful Magistrates and Republican Lawyers: Creators of Virginia Legal Culture, 1680-1810*. Studies in Legal History. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1981. Pp. xx, 292. Indexed. \$24.00, cloth.)
- Royster, Charles. *Light-Horse Harry Lee and the Legacy of the American Revolution*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1981. Pp. xiv, 301. Illustrations, index. \$15.00, cloth.)
- Still in British Hands: Major Documents of the American Revolution in the British Public Record Office*. (Campbell, Calif.: Pendragon House, Inc., 1981. 48 pp. Illustrations. \$2.95, paper.)
- Trussell, John B. B., Jr., comp. *Pennsylvania Historical Bibliography III: Additions Through 1976*. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1980. Pp. xviii, 119. Indexed. \$4.00, paper.)
- Trussell, John B. B., Jr. *William Penn: Architect of a Nation*. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, 1980. 76 pp. Indexed. \$2.25, paper.)
- Wills, Garry. *Explaining America: The Federalist*. (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1981. Pp. xxiv, 286. Indexed. \$14.95, cloth.)
- Wolfe, Richard J. *Early American Music Engraving and Printing: A History of Music Publishing in America from 1787 to 1825 with Commentary on Earlier and Later Practices*. Music in American Life Series. (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press in cooperation with the Bibliographical Society of America, 1980. 321 pp. Illustrations, index. \$24.95, cloth.)

NEWS AND NOTICES

ARCHIVAL WORKSHOP

An introductory, one-day workshop on archival arrangement and description will be sponsored by the Mid-Atlantic Regional Archives Conference at its Spring meeting, Friday May 21, 1982, at the Fountain Bleu Hotel in Ocean City, Maryland.

For more information write:

Cynthia H. Requardt
202 Warren Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21230

THE PAPERS OF ELIZABETH CADY STANTON AND SUSAN B. ANTHONY

For an edition of the papers of Susan B. Anthony (1820-1906) and Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815-1902), founders of the American women's rights movement, I would appreciate information on the location of all documents, including letters addressed by others to them and newspaper accounts of their speeches. I am especially interested in documents in private or otherwise obscure collections.

Dr. Patricia Holland
303 New Africa House
University of Massachusetts
Amherst, MA 01003

COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY HIGHLIGHTS

CARROLL COUNTY

The Historical Society of Carroll County's extensive doll collection has a new home. Previously the collection was on display in two rooms of the historic Kimmey House. Now with a grant from the Dollology Club of Washington, the Historical Society has created the "Carroll County Children's Shop."

The shop is a reproduction of a Victorian country store complete with bay windows, stained glass and antique store display cases. For Carroll County's children of today, the store will be a visit to the world of yesterday. The children will be greeted by life-size German bisque dolls, tiny "frozen Charlotte" dolls and even a wooden doll carved by a slave who later became a tailor. He used the dolls to advertise his skill. Glittering marbles, old musical instruments and a stereoscope with picture cards are sure to catch the eye of even the most modern child. Or perhaps our young visitors would like to purchase some groceries from our early 20th century F. A. O. Schwartz "Kiddie Grocery Store."

Young or old, everyone is sure to enjoy this recreation of the past. The Historical Society of Carroll County is located at 210 E. Main Street in Westminster, and is open Tuesday through Friday from 9-4. Special tours can be arranged at other times by appointment (848-6494).

CECIL COUNTY

The Cecil County Historical Society is fortunate to have a surveying instrument made by a member of the noted Quaker Chandlee family of clockmakers.

Four generations of this family worked at Nottingham, now Calvert, Cecil County, Maryland, from 1703 until the death of Isaac Chandlee in 1813.

Many clocks and surveying instruments made by this family survive. The instrument at the Cecil County Historical Society was made by Isaac Chandlee who was born on September 12, 1760, and died on December 10, 1813. He worked in partnership with his brother Ellis from about 1792 until 1804, when Ellis was no longer an active partner.

The Cecil County Historical Society is located at 135 E. Market Street in Elkton and is open on Thursdays from 12-4 p.m.

HARFORD COUNTY

The Historical Society of Harford County, with headquarters in the Hays House in Bel Air, has an on-going labor-of-love in its magnificent archival collection. Although it is not yet accessible to the public, it is being catalogued by



FIGURE 1.
Isaac Chandlee surveying instrument.
From the collections of the Cecil County Historical Society.

dedicated members who find delights with every opening of a file folder. The collection had been housed in the Maryland Historical Society but it is now back in Harford County. Typical of the richness of the collection is Daniel Scott's survey book, a yellowing, hardbacked leather edged book dating between 1792 and 1797. Through its pages, one can trace many early Harford surveys complete with plats, past tract names, and relevant descriptions of boundary points. Daniel Scott, a county surveyor in the late 1700's, was the son of Aquila Scott on whose property Bel Air was founded. He was a member of the Committee of Harford from Bush River Lower Hundred and a signer of the Bush Declaration.

Scott's plats were further enhanced by Dr. George W. Archer who was a prodigious collector for the Historical Society in the late 1880's. His notes and comments are found throughout the collection. In this book, as he also had

Hen[ry] Clay
Charles B. Calvert Esq
Riversdale
from the City of
Washington

My dear friend
Many thanks for your kind
offer of Tomatoes. The market however
here is well supplied, and there is
no occasion of drawing on the resources
of Riversdale —
I saw Prof. Addison yesterday
but nothing was said about R. Port.
I wish I could say when I
shall be able to make my contemplated
visit. If I do not, from necessity
or voluntarily, abandon my purpose
I may deliver it tomorrow or next day.
The heat is very oppressive here
and I envy you the pleasant breeze
of Riversdale —
I cannot say that I shall be
able before Saturday to leave the City.
Your friend
H. Clay
Wash[ington] 19th July 50

FIGURE 2.

H[enry] Clay, Wash[ington, D.C.] to [Charles Benedict Calvert, Riversdale], 19 July [18]50. ALS.
From the collections of the Prince George's County Historical Society.

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Genealogical Research in Maryland: A Guide, by Mary K. Meyer. New edition forthcoming.

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Maryland Manual of Oral History, by Betty McKeever Key (1979). \$4.00

Oral History in Maryland: A Directory, by Betty McKeever Key (1981). \$3.00

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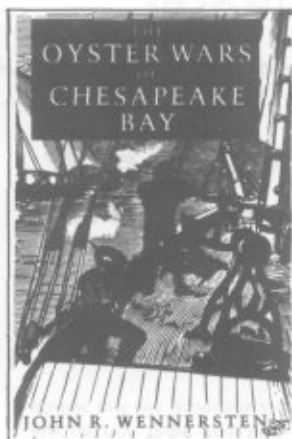
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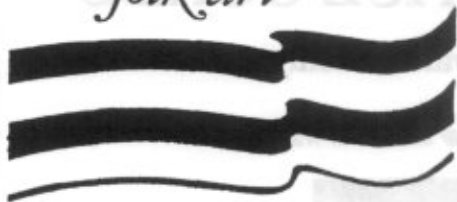
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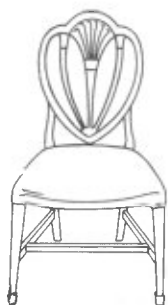
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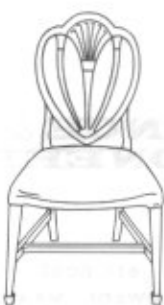
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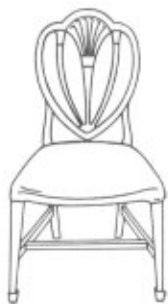
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